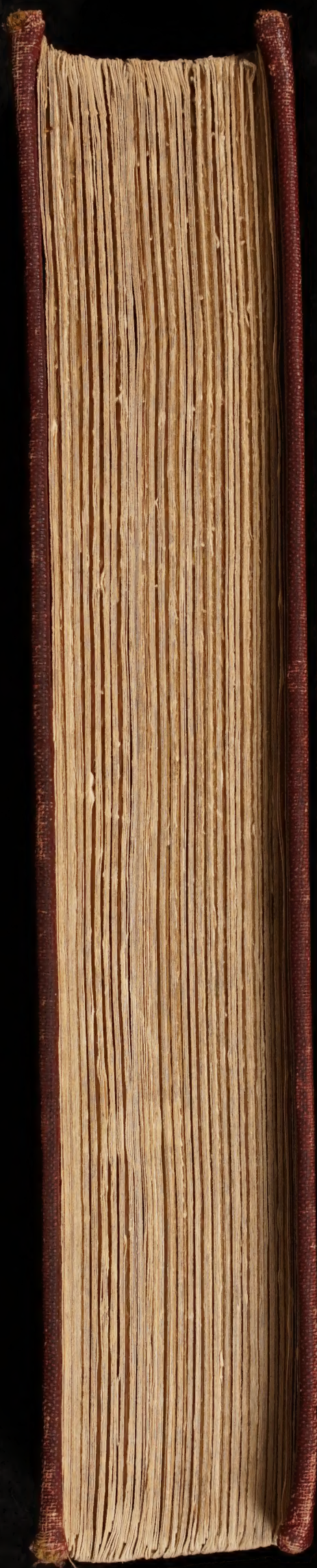


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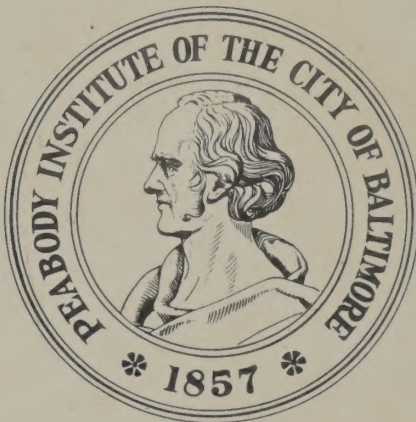


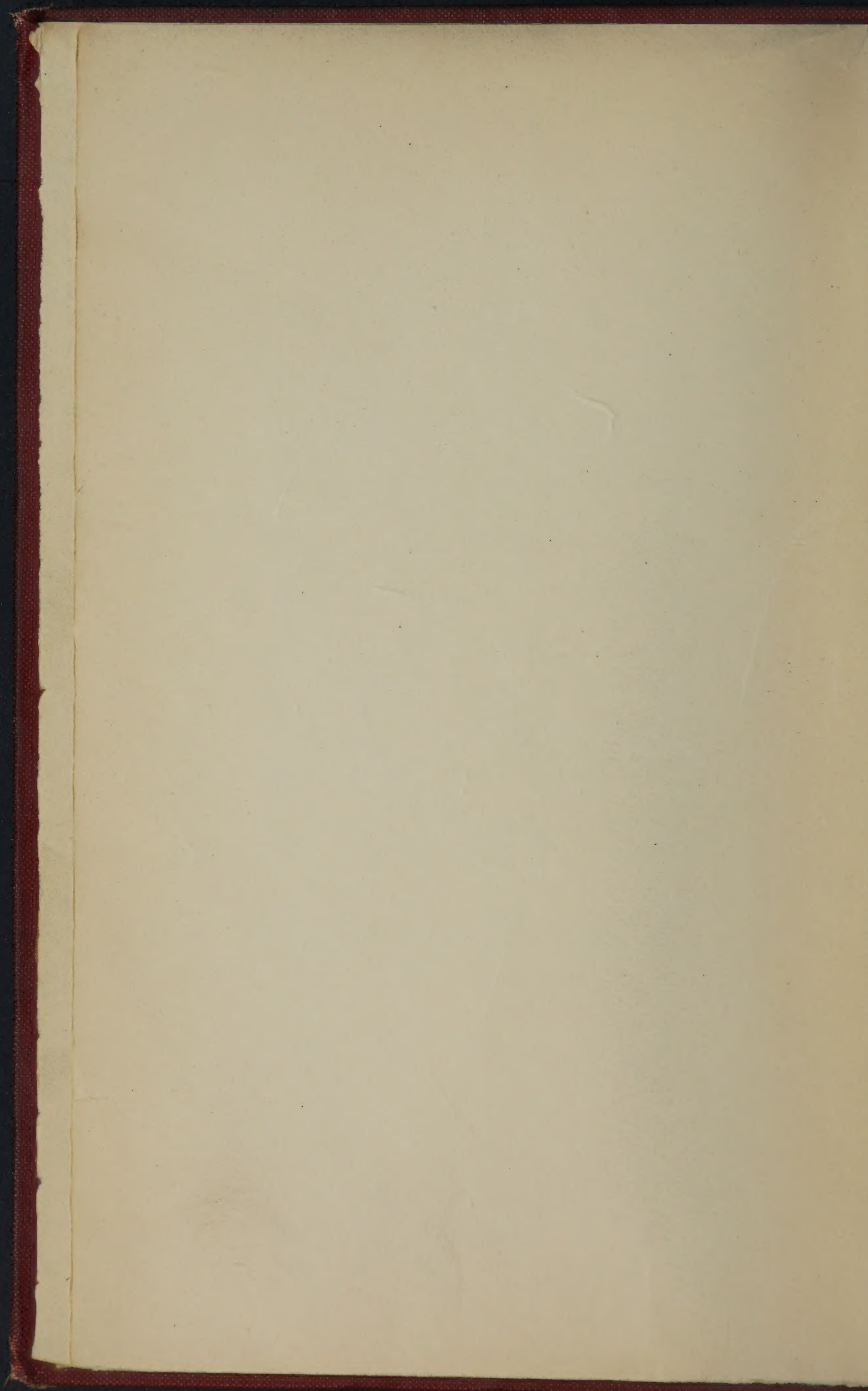




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HOMER AND HISTORY

BY

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PRESIDENT OF THE HELLENIC SOCIETY

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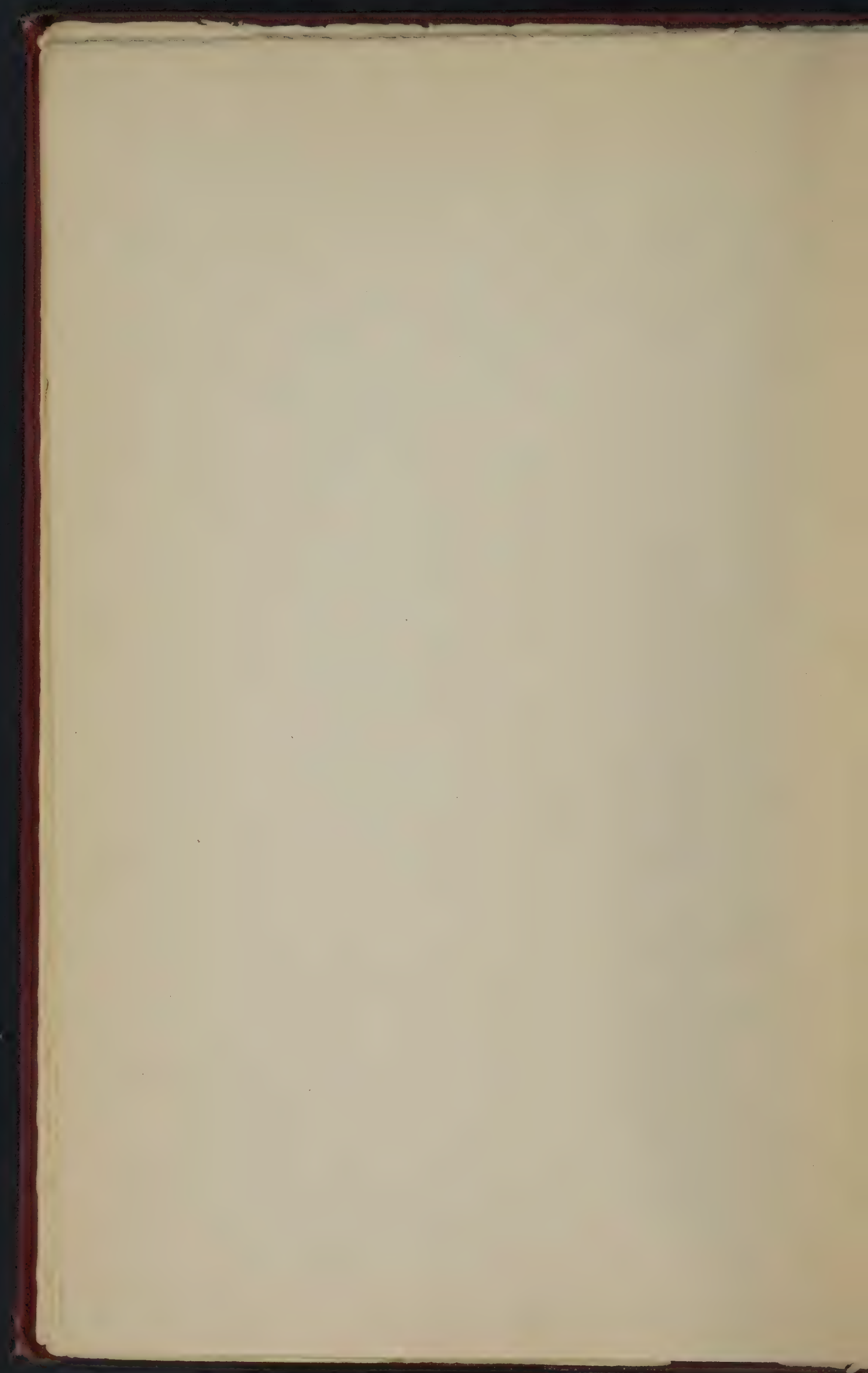
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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
THREE DEAR FRIENDS
LOVED IN THE BONDS OF BROTHERHOOD
SAMUEL HENRY BUTCHER
FREDERICK WILLIAM MAITLAND
ARTHUR WOOLLGAR VERRALL

Χαίρετε κἀν φειμένοις, κεφαλαὶ φίλοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Ἄρης
χαίρειν τοὺς ζωοὺς αἰκυλοεργὸς ἔαι·
οἶον ὅτ' ἐν λésχῃσιν ἀπορρήτοισι σύνηβοι
ἱμερτὸν σοφίης καρπὸν ἔδρεψάμεθα·
εὕδετε νήδυμον ὕπνον· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶι
ὕμᾱς δακρύω καὶ σοφίην φειμένην.



PREFACE

IN March 1913 my friend, the distinguished Homeric scholar Professor J. A. Scott, of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, conveyed to me an invitation from that University to deliver, between October 1914 and May 1915, six lectures on the Norman Wait Harris foundation, on any subject that I might choose. The invitation gave me the keenest pleasure, and was accepted without hesitation. The subject of this book had already taken shape in my mind, and the matter was prepared first for lectures, and afterwards, with considerable expansion, in book form. The date for the lectures was arranged, and the time-table for the whole visit planned; cordial invitations from all the principal Universities of the United States led me to look forward to my journey with quite unusual anticipations.

The pleasant prospect was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of war. Imperative duties of quite another kind made it impossible for me to think of

leaving London. My deepest gratitude is offered to all my generous friends, known and unknown, in the United States for the consideration and warm sympathy with which they received and admitted my plea of *force majeure* for the cancellation of all my engagements. They have laid me under a debt which it is my earnest hope to repay, in such small measure as I can, in happier times.

In the meantime the following Chapters I.-VIII. had been not only set up, but passed for press and printed off, with the intention that the book should be published as soon as the lectures had been delivered, that is to say in or about January 1915. The Norman Wait Harris Lecture Committee have most generously given their permission to the publication of the book as one of the series, though the lectures have never been given; and it has been decided that it should now appear, little consonant though it is with the surroundings of the moment. It may at least serve as a protest, faint and feeble enough, against the extinction of intellectual interest in the flood of barbarous materialism which has been let loose upon Europe. That such work as this should receive attention or encouragement at such a time seems to be past hope; it can at best be a memento of days when research was not wholly concentrated upon explosives and poison gas. Let us

hope that America at least will pass on the torch of learning to the next generation.

The main position which the following pages are designed to support is one which dates from many years ago; it is substantially identical with the views published in my Introduction to the English translation of *Schuchhardt on Schliemann's Excavations* (1891), and again in my *Companion to the Iliad* (1892). In many respects subsequent discoveries, more especially the revelations of Crete, have involved important modifications; but I am none the less reverting to my theme of nearly a quarter of a century ago, that "the poems really do depict, as contemporaries, the Achaian age, as they profess."¹

That it should have been possible to recur to a faith so long held, and restate the old theme with fresh conviction, is largely due to the appearance of a single book, Professor H. M. Chadwick's *The Heroic Age*. To that work I owe a debt which is, I hope, duly acknowledged in what follows, but I must add a few words of thanks here. It was a welcome surprise to me to discover that my own theories on such vital points as the reality and individuality of the Achaian race, the blending of racial religions to

¹ *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. xxiii.

form the curiously composite faith of historic Hellas, and the genesis of the Epic from earlier court minstrelsy, all of which I had already explicitly upheld without, so far as I know, convincing any one but myself, could be so powerfully reinforced and actually restated, obviously in complete independence, on the evidence of the old Teutonic world of which I had no knowledge. To the instruction and encouragement which I received from *The Heroic Age* the existence of this book is largely to be attributed.

Others have helped me in a more direct and personal way; and them too I have to thank no less cordially. Miss Jane Harrison, Miss Melian Stawell, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Mr. Arnold Toynbee have read the following pages in MS. or in proof, and discussed many points with me in conversation or by letter. They have often dissented from what I have said, but their criticism has been as helpful as their encouragement, and even where it has not convinced me it has always left its mark.

What debt I may owe to Niese, *Der Homerische Schiffskatalog*, I cannot say. It is a good many years since I read that book; all the details have passed out of my mind, and, desiring to work out the whole question anew for myself, I have purposely abstained from refreshing my memory. Whatever

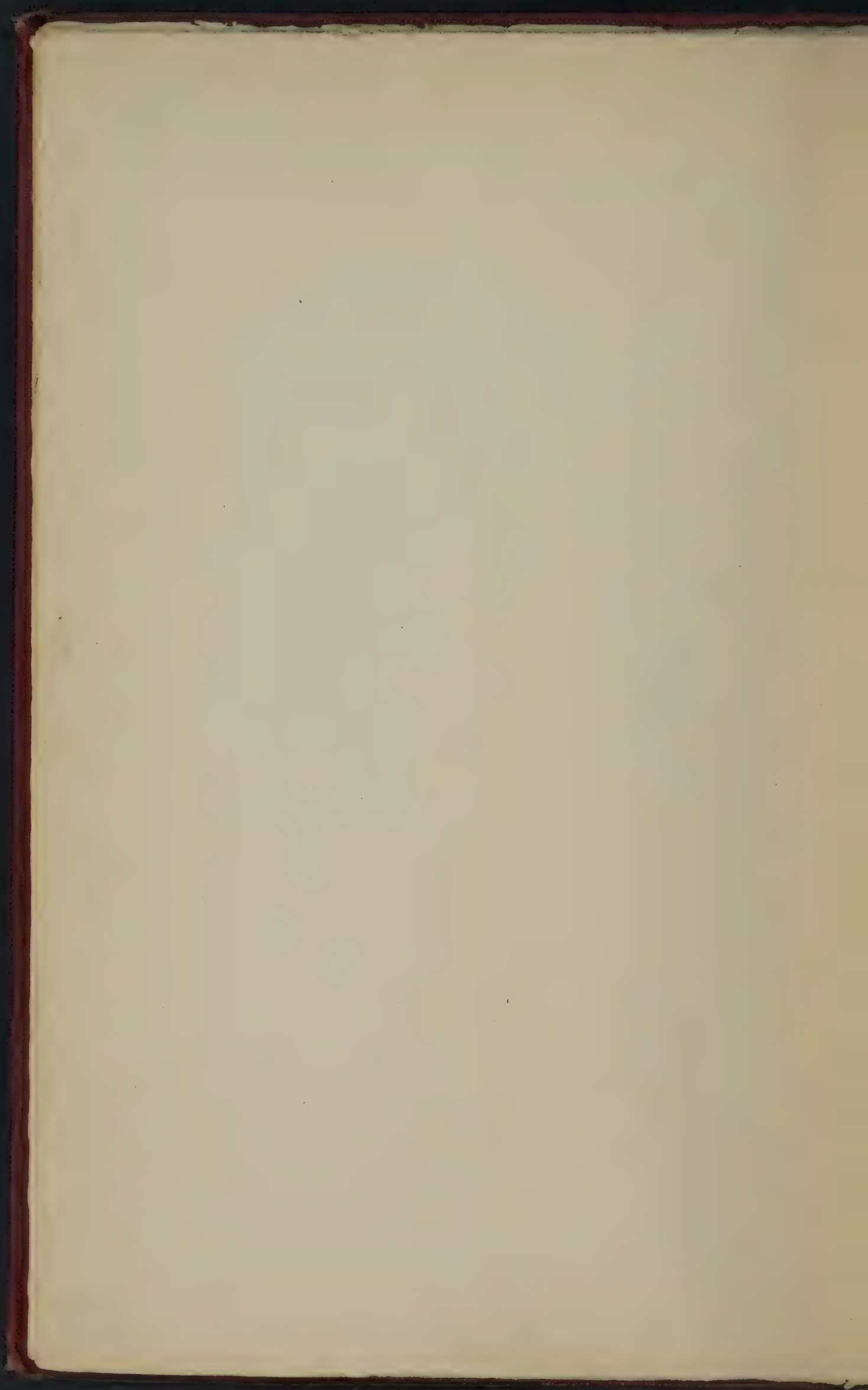
therefore may seem to need acknowledgment must have come solely by way of unconscious reminiscence.

It has been impossible to avoid a certain amount of controversial matter ; but this has been relegated, so far as possible, to the decent obscurity of an Appendix, where no one need read it. I am sorry to find myself in complete opposition to Mr. T. W. Allen, for so much of whose work on Homer I have the highest admiration ; but it would have been no compliment simply to ignore his papers on the Catalogue, and I have had no choice but to set out plainly the grounds for my dissent.

It may perhaps be permitted to me to say specifically that the passage about Lemnos on p. 105, which now has the air of an *ex post facto* prophecy, was in fact printed off as it stands long before the beginning of the war.

WALTER LEAF.

18th September 1915.



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CHAPTER I

GODS AND MEN

IN the year 1795 Wolf published his *Prolegomena*. Just a century later, in 1893, Dörpfeld uncovered the Mycenaean walls at Hissarlik. The two dates mark two definite epochs in the development of the Homeric question. Wolf gave the nineteenth century to the philologist; the archaeologists have given the twentieth to the historian. We are standing at the beginning of a new era, and the old problems are taking on entirely new forms.

The discovery of the Mycenaean, that is, the Homeric, Troy, though decisive, was not, of course, unique. It was not merely that a fortress was found to have stood on the very spot where Homeric tradition placed it—a fortress which had been sacked and almost levelled by enemies; that was vital, but it was not all. What was at least equally significant was the coincidence of other discoveries which came about the same time—the discovery, first at Mykene and Tiryns and afterwards in Crete, of the whole pre-Hellenic Aegean civilization; of the power and fall of

the Hittite Empire; and of the records which told of the great invasions of Egypt by allied tribes from across the northern sea. Herewith was swept away at once the whole fabric of assumptions on which the theories of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century were based.

Until the seventies of that century were reached, it seemed to be a matter of course that primitive Greece was isolated in darkness, without contact to south or east—for though Babylon and Egypt were known, there was nothing to link them with the north and west. The land was apparently inhabited by rude and savage tribes of Pelasgians, among whom there descended more or less god-like men from the north, bringing with them the ineffable blessings of Aryan civilization. In these primitive conditions any great oversea expedition seemed to be *a priori* impossible, and there could be no tangible foundation for the War of Troy. It was a poetical fiction, a reflexion of some other lesser war, a humanizing of mythology, anything but what it purported to be, an important war fought out at a particular spot near the mouth of the Hellespont. And archaeology, on the whole, seemed to confirm this conclusion. Schliemann's earlier excavations at Hissarlik tended only to place the castles which he found there wholly out of the range of Homeric Greece. It was only after his death that the link was found; it was left to others to establish what it had always been his heart's desire to see proved, but which a really tragic

irony had compelled him to go far, as it seemed, towards refuting.

The results of Homeric criticism, based on a denial of the reality of the Trojan War, were, it must be confessed, completely futile in their attempts to produce unanimity. The end of the century saw Homerists much further removed from any probable agreement than they were at the beginning. Bergk compared the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to two great mountain peaks, rising in the distance from a sea of cloud in which their bases were wholly hidden. Among these clouds there wandered various bands of explorers without a single landmark to guide them. No wonder that their paths diverged on this side and that, till at last they found themselves entirely out of hail of one another, pursuing ill-marked tracks which led they knew not whither. The result was an obvious sense of disappointment and lassitude, leading to a revulsion in the direction of the unitarian theory—an acquiescence in what seemed the easiest way out of the muddle, a general scepticism as to all theory, and an acceptance of Homer as a poet beyond whom it was useless to inquire.

The unitarian reaction is, in my opinion, mistaken; but it is intelligible, and as a protest against extravagance of uncontrolled theorizing I can even admit much sympathy with it. But, unhappily, even unitarianism does not bring unity. Mr. Allen deals his blows impartially at Blass and Drerup; and it is a strange bond which brings under a common party

name such irreconcilable antagonists as Andrew Lang and Dietrich Mülder. It is easy and plausible to appeal to the court of poetry as the ultimate authority to tell us whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are each—or both?—the work of a single man. But when the court comes to deliver judgment, we find that each of the innumerable Lords of Appeal gives reasons for his decision which are wholly inconsistent with the reasoned opinions of his brethren. It is not in this way that harmony will be attained and the old dispute finally settled.

✓ But the discovery of Mycenaean Troy has wholly altered the position. From it follows, as I have at least convinced myself, and I hope that others go with me, the historical reality of the Trojan War. And with the reality of that war we have at once an invaluable clue, a point of convergence, a landmark amid the clouds to which our steps must inevitably be directed. It is no longer possible to dismiss Greek historical tradition without consideration. That tradition is wholly based on the Trojan War as a fixed datum. If the Trojan War did not take place, or even if it took place under other circumstances than those given in the *Iliad*, then the whole of Greek tradition goes by the board without more ado. But the recognition of the reality of the war confirms the tradition in its most vital point, and justifies us in using it as a guide.

It must be used, of course, with all wariness and due scepticism. We can never be quite certain how

much of it is real tradition ; for we know that it has passed through a period of contamination and manipulation before it reaches us in the fifth century ; the logographers had been at work, and what Herodotos, at all events, offers us shows abundant traces of their handiwork. But there is yet some solid foundation, and it is our business as critics to set about inquiring how much of the superstructure may be trusted.

The most important part of the Greek tradition thus rehabilitated is, of course, Homer himself. ✓ Homer has passed through the period of contamination, as we shall see ; and our first duty is to clear away, at all events, so much as proclaims itself thus secondary. But when that is done, we may proceed to test the rest on the general assumption that, as the Trojan War is real, so what is directly connected with the story of the war may well be real too.

It is high time, in fact, to invert the general principle on which the problem of history in Homer has generally been approached. The assumption has been that Homer is to be explained by mythology, or by folk-lore, or by *Sagenverschiebung*, and that any residuum that can be spared may be grudgingly left to history. That method has led only to disappointment and failure. Let us try to give history the first mortgage on the estate, and then we can see what is left for mythology and folk-tale.

The method is not one of easy credulity ; on the contrary, it is one where we can from time to time check our conclusions. It is the older method which

is uncontrolled guess-work. When Dr. Gruppe tells us that Euboean-Boeotian colonists in the Troad were driven out by Locrians and South Thessalians after fierce wars, and that these are the battles of which the Trojan War is merely the mythical reflex,¹ we cannot disprove him; we do not know enough of the dark ages of colonization to say definitely that such wars did not take place; we can only say that archaeology gives no support whatever to such an idea; that the grounds on which it is based are ludicrously inadequate to carry such a superstructure, and that a far better explanation of the Trojan War than this can be given—an explanation which, in fact, fits in with a vast number of other things apparently quite outside the purview of Professor Gruppe. Hypotheses of this kind are no more than an ingenious fabrication of useless puzzles; their intellectual interest, and their ultimate value to science, are about on the level of a good chess problem.

It is the same, or even worse, with the theory of *Sagenverschiebung*. Dr. Dümmler and Dr. Bethe tell us that "the legends have been transplanted"; the wars of which the *Iliad* is a reflex were not really fought in the Troad, but in Central Greece; they were mere intertribal quarrels among the hills which divided Locrians from Boeotians. Well—there may have been such quarrels—we cannot positively deny it. But the whole thing is merely an airy baseless guess. It recognizes tradition indeed, for it assumes

¹ I. Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 2, vol. i. p. 309.

that tradition means the inverse of what it appears to say; when we are told that Aias the Salaminian fought Hector the Trojan, we are to understand that Aias the Locrian fought Hector the Boeotian; when we are told that the bones of Hector were brought from Troy to Thebes, this only means that the legend of Hector went from Thebes to Troy. Such a topsy-turvy method will, I am sure, lead to nothing of value; it is a mere arbitrary shifting of artificial pieces, a jig-saw puzzle which will never fit. It does not even fit with what lies next to it; there was, as we know, a very famous legend of wars in this very quarter, the whole Theban cycle, which will by no means square with a Trojan War on the same ground. Or has the Theban cycle too been transplanted? Was the Theban War perhaps fought in the Troad?

And even if we grant these battles in Greece, there follows — what? Unfortunately the adherents of *Sagenverschiebung* differ among themselves. Did the original tale include Achilles at all? Was he not the hero of a quite different war, which somehow got muddled up with the Locrian-Boeotian squabble, but never really extended beyond the bounds of Thessaly? Was not Homer wrong when he called Agamemnon king of Mykene? Was not Agamemnon himself a Thessalian? Or had he anything to do with these tribal quarrels at all? Was he not a mere god?

There are many other questions which one might ask. For instance, when the colonists carried their

old legends across the sea, why did they locate them, of all places, on the Plain of Troy? Here was no great Greek colony. There is at best evidence previous to the eighth century of a small Greek settlement, wiped out, it would seem, by an invasion from the north, and without any record in history.¹ The only colonists of whom the Greeks had any knowledge were the Aeolians, who, after the first migration, settled the district from the already thriving colony of Lesbos, and maintained at Troy only a temple and a legend. Why did not the emigrants, when they carried across the sea the story of their old tribal wars, locate them in the regions where they made their first and most famous home?

Again, can any evidence be adduced of such transplantation of legend in the case of other peoples? Was the ballad of Chevy Chase composed in Massachusetts as the reflexion into the past of the struggles between the Pilgrim Fathers and the Indians? That, I suppose, would be Gruppe's view. Or is the story of the Indian wars in Massachusetts a mere transplantation of the memory of the border fights between England and Scotland? That would be *Sagenverschiebung*. Our own Saxon ancestors brought with them across the sea the story of Beowulf; but they never transplanted the scenery to England.² Through all the vicissitudes of the

¹ *Troy*, p. 110.

² See Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, p. 30. "It is remarkable that the early Anglo-Saxon poems contain no reference to persons or events connected with this country."

Teutonic Epos Theodoric of Verona remains Dietrich of Bern, fixed in the capital of his historic kingdom.

There is much more that might be said about *Sagenverschiebung*; but it need not be said here. The theory is one which has been stated and maintained by scholars of the highest eminence, of whose Homeric work one cannot speak without respect. The same was true, in its day, of the *Kleinlieder* theory of Lachmann. That has been universally rejected; but it has played an important part in the history of the Homeric problem, and has done much to educate us all, even where we disbelieve it. It is in fact often more useful to be refuted than to convince, and progress can only be made, it would seem, by stating new theories with full conviction; by no other means can thorough discussion be secured. So, while expressing my profound disbelief in *Sagenverschiebung* from beginning to end, I am not ungrateful to those who have submitted it to the test of controversy.

The waste-paper basket in the library, the scrap-heap in the factory, are not perhaps very pleasant objects of contemplation; nor is the dentist's key. But they are all necessary at one time or another, and must be faced with courage. For my own part, I am anxious to approach the Homeric question without prepossession, and am perfectly ready to scrap any opinions which the argument may condemn. There is a great deal of scrapping before us all, whatever our views may be. And in all that follows I

shall make no reference to any views I have published as to the composition of the *Iliad*; I lay them on the shelf to await whatever fate may be in store for them. But—perhaps it is human weakness—I prefer to criticize, in the first place, opinions which I have never held, and to condemn as obsolete some plant which never stood in any factory of my own.

Let us begin then with one dogma which still, I fear, passes among the orthodox, at least in Germany, for an article of faith—the dogma that the heroes of the Epos are “faded,” or let us say humanized, gods. That belief is a direct descendant of the Solar Myth. It is a pure assumption. No evidence of an undoubted god brought down by poetry to the human level has ever, so far as I know, been adduced; it is all a mere matter of hypothesis. And it directly contradicts all that we know of popular psychology, the general tendency of the mythopoeic faculty of mankind. Men are constantly, in all ages and in all parts of the world, raising famous men to, or towards, godhead, generally after their death, sometimes even in their life. But they never reverse the process. Gods may come down and walk among men; but not in order that they may become men and lose their godhead—rather in order that they may the more effectively prove their divinity by immortality, invulnerability, or miracle.

This is pre-eminently the case with the gods of Homer. Nothing can well be sharper than the line which is drawn between gods and men, even when

the gods are walking with men on earth. "The Homeric gods," as Jebb says,¹ "meet mortals in hand-to-hand fight, they wound them or are wounded by them, they aid or thwart them, advise or deceive them, in visible presence; and it is the unique distinction of Homer that all this is managed without ever making the deities less than divine, or the mortals more than human." There is not the least ground in Homer himself for supposing that any of the human beings who play a part in the story has ever been anything but man.

Achilles himself, to take the most conspicuous case, has nothing divine about him in Homer. In place of immortality he has early death. He is not invulnerable; like other men, he is subject not only to wounds but to pain and weariness. So it is with Sarpedon, another son of Zeus; his divine parentage wins him no more than a mystically solemn funeral. And if it is true of these two, yet more true is it of the rest that they are presented with purely human powers and under human limitations. If they were once pre-Hellenic gods, then it must be admitted that Homer has spared no pains to strip them of all traces of their real nature. Before we believe this, let us at least ask for some sort of proof that the common workings of the mind of man have, in this one case, been reversed, and that Homer has been as anxious to make men out of gods as men at large are to make gods out of men.

¹ *Homer*, p. 26.

It may, however, be urged that though Homer has thus carefully expurgated his heroes of all divine taint, yet he has unconsciously indicated their divine origin by giving them divine parentage—that their kinship with the gods is in fact a survival of an older belief in their essential divinity.

That view is not in itself by any means untenable, but it is capable of test. If divine parentage in Homer implies primitive divinity, then it should go closely in hand with later hero-worship. The warriors of the Trojan War who in later Greece received either divine or semi-divine rites should be the same as those who in Homer are regarded as children or remoter descendants of gods. We can easily see if this is true. For the purpose we will take a list of all the Homeric captains of the first rank—Agamemnon, Menelaos, Achilles, Diomedes, Odysseus, Aias the Telamonian, Aias the Lokrian, Nestor, Idomeneus, Patroklos. These names are not, I think, open to dispute.

Now of these ten great names only four are honoured by divine descent.¹ Achilles indeed has it in double measure; not only is he the son of a goddess, but he is on his father's side, through Aiakos, great-grandson of Zeus. Aias the Telamonian, his first cousin, shares with him, in later legend, though not in Homer, the relationship through Aiakos. Nestor is grandson of Poseidon. Idomeneus

¹ I leave out of account the use of the epithet *διογενής*, which seems in Homeric use to have become merely complimentary, and is used particularly of Odysseus, where there is no pretence of an actual descent from Zeus.

is, according to the *Iliad*, great-grandson of Zeus; but the parentage is perhaps somewhat discredited by the fact that in the *Odyssey* his grandfather Minos is called only the **ὄαριςτῆς**, the bosom friend, not the son, of Zeus (*Od.* xix. 179). Of the other six not one is represented as having any inheritance whatever of divine blood. Yet all the six were freely worshipped in later days—Menelaos, indeed, and perhaps Agamemnon, with divine and not with heroic rites.¹ And as for the four of divine descent, though Achilles and Aias stood in the front rank of popular worship, yet there seems to be little or no trace of even the minor rites in the case of Nestor and Idomeneus.

It appears then that divine descent has in Homer nothing whatever to do with worship in later Greece. Two heroes have divine descent and heroic honours; two have divine descent but no honours; two have human descent and divine honours; four have human descent and heroic honours. There could not well be a clearer divorce between the two conceptions. The bestowal of heroic honours follows the prominence which the warriors hold in the war, and has nothing to do with their descent. And if further confirmation is needed for the assertion that a divine pedigree is regarded as a mere trifle, hardly giving the offspring of a god even a ceremonial precedence among his fellows, it will be found in the case of the various insignificant characters who share with

¹ Pausanias iii. 19, 9; Isokrates x. 63.

Achilles and Aias the claim to Olympian blood. There are hardly less important personages among those who are named in the *Iliad* than Askalaphos and Ialmenos, sons of Ares, or Eudoros son of Hermes.¹

If, then, we are to believe Homer, it is the human element in his heroes which is essential; the divine is merely secondary; the attribution of Olympian descent is not a survival of godhead, but the beginning of heroization—the first step upwards, not the last downwards. Popular fancy was no doubt already at its creative work; the Epos exercised a dominating influence over it. The two must have reacted on one another; it is a grave mistake to attribute everything to the saga and nothing to the poet. “Virtus et fauor et lingua potentium uatum”—worth, popular favour, and the mighty bard—achievement, saga, epos,—these are, as Horace truly says, the three forces which combine to raise a mortal from earth to the home of the gods; but it is the achievement, the human work on earth, that comes first. Cicero puts the case with the clearness of the expert in religion: “Vide ne uirtutibus hominum isti honores habeantur, non immortalitatibus.”²

And what is true of the individual actors in the story is true of the story itself. There also the divine action is mingled with the human. Yet none the less is it true that the essence of the whole is

¹ *Il.* xiii. 478 ff., xvi. 179 ff.

² See the full quotation in Appendix, Note A.

the human action and not the divine. The gods appear from time to time and play their part, but they never affect the tissue of the story. The divine element is sometimes a fringe added from without, sometimes a deft embroidery seeming to form part of the fabric, yet always distinguishable from it, never inseparable.

This is generally obvious at first sight. Much, perhaps most, of the Olympian tale does not even profess to do more than give a parallel plot, a theological commentary setting forth the general supremacy of the gods over human affairs, which in fact go their own way undisturbed by the councils of Olympos. We are allowed to see plainly that the great defeats of the Greeks and the storming of the camp are really due to the retirement of Achilles and his Myrmidons; the prayer of Thetis to Zeus, asking for his interference in favour of her son, is no more than a link between heaven and earth, manifesting to the human observer the honorary guidance of the deity. So too it is with the appearance of Athene in the great scene of the quarrel in the first book of the *Iliad*. Achilles has all but lost his self-control:

. . . his heart within his shaggy breast was divided in counsel, whether to draw his keen blade from his thigh, and set the company aside, and so slay Atreides, or to assuage his anger and curb his soul. While he yet doubted thereof, and was drawing his great sword from his sheath, Athene came to him from heaven, sent forth of the

white-armed goddess Hera, whose heart loved them both alike and had care for them. She stood behind Peleus' son and caught him by his golden hair—to him only visible, and of the rest no man beheld her. Then Achilles marvelled and turned him about, and straightway knew Pallas Athene; and terribly shone her eyes. . . . Then the bright-eyed goddess Athene spake to him again. "I came from heaven to stay thine anger, if perchance thou wilt hearken to me. Go to now, cease from strife, and let not thy hand draw the sword." ¹

Athene is seen of Achilles alone; of the rest no man beholds her. Does not this proclaim at once that we have, almost confessedly, an allegory of that divine element in the human heart by force of which a man may, even in extremest passion, control his lower being? To all men such self-control must seem a god's work; but the Greek has the magic secret which enables him to put it before us in plastic form, at once concrete and spiritual, pure poetic imagination embodying the deepest truth.

Similar to this, but perhaps on a somewhat lower level, is another passage, almost equally famous, that where the same Athene appears to Diomedes on the battle-field and, taking the mist from before his eyes, bids him know god from man, and not dread to meet even a god in fight. She leads him against the very War-god Ares, and guiding his spear spills the ichor from the god's veins, so that he would have died had death been possible for him. Have we not in this

¹ *Il.* i. 189-210.

picture the other side of what a god may do in man's heart—not stilling but rousing his fury, till his very mad audacity seems to act as a shield, and carries him on in a superhuman rush of victory? The phenomenon is not unknown in history; it is what our Norse ancestors called the Berserk rage. The Greek does not call it an inspiration, but he shows it us in vivid presence, working itself out as something truly, in the Greek sense, daemonic.

There is indeed one appearance of the goddess on the battle-field which does not thus appeal to us. Who has not, in his inmost heart, felt a regret that Athene should have come down to the walls of Troy to help Achilles in his last fight with Hector? It seems so needless that supernatural power should be invoked; we know that Achilles is bound to kill Hector after that terrible chase, without the help of any god. Why should Athene be invoked to turn Hector at the last, and worst of all to delude him by treachery at the moment when all hope has gone? The aesthetic answer to these questions is not easy to find—at least I have never been able to satisfy myself. But the sense of needlessness is the best proof that here, as elsewhere, the intervention of the deity does not really belong to the tale; it is something added from outside.

Homer has, in fact, anticipating more modern philosophers, reduced the divine government of the world to an “epiphenomenon”; events in Olympos run parallel to those on earth, and concurrently with

them, in such a way as to give a pretence of causation which is in reality no more than a bare acknowledgment of the guidance of a supreme will. This comes out clearly in the Homeric conception of Fate—that mysterious power in the background to which at critical moments in the story Zeus himself is subordinate. It is symbolized in the Scales of Zeus, to which the Father of Gods has to appeal to learn what his decision must be. In the decisive moment of Hector's struggle with Achilles, Zeus hangs his scales to learn what the outcome is to be; and Hector's doom sinks down.¹ Why is this? Surely because the positive datum of the legend told that Hector was actually slain; that was something which the poet could not deny or the god himself make undone:

non tamen irritum
diffinget infectumque reddet
quod fugiens semel hora uexit.

The poet has to acknowledge that there are certain data which he regards as historical, as things done, with which he himself must not tamper; neither, therefore, can the epiphenomenon, Zeus, tamper with them; the decision is not with Zeus, but must be attributed to Fate. To Homer, in fact, if I may say so without undue levity, Fate is the *fait accompli*.

We may say further that as the heroes of Homer show no sign of superhuman origin, so also the Tale of Troy shows no signs of derivation from any celestial

¹ *Il.* xxii. 210.

mythology. It does not, of course, follow that it is historical. Jebb has written,¹ "it is fantastic to treat the siege of Troy as merely a solar myth. . . . It is equally fantastic, and more illogical, to follow the 'rationalizing' method—to deduct the supernatural element, and claim the whole residuum as historical fact. Homer says that Achilles slew Hector with the aid of Athene. We are not entitled to omit Athene, and still to affirm that Achilles slew Hector."

There is, of course, a sense in which these words are true—in fact a truism. Where a supernatural element is combined with a natural, it is self-evident that the abstraction of the supernatural is no argument for the truth of the natural. But what Jebb meant, I suppose, or at least what his words seem to convey, is that the supernatural taints the natural with improbability—that if Homer had only not introduced the supernatural, we should have had a good claim to treat the residuum as historical. If that is what Jebb meant, I must emphatically join issue.

If we are seeking for historical fact from the words of a poet, the statement "Achilles slew Hector with the aid of Athene" is precisely equivalent to the statement "Achilles slew Hector," neither more nor less. Even in sober prose every nation attributes its victories to the special favour of the gods; only the poet, and especially the Greek poet, visualizes and

¹ *Homer*, p. 147.

personifies the help. At the battle of Marathon Theseus was seen by many of the combatants leading his Athenians against the Medes.¹ Is it fantastic or illogical to omit Theseus and still affirm that the Athenians conquered at Marathon?

It might have been otherwise. Where gods and men mingle and converse, it might well have been that the Tale of Troy would take such a form that the action of the gods was inextricable from the essence of it. In that case there would have been good grounds for saying that all the events narrated were mythological, or at least fanciful. As it is, the possibility of detaching the divine action from the human without disturbance of the story is in itself an argument for believing that the tale is told of real happenings to real men. Or at the very least it gives us a right to disclaim the imputation that the search for a "residuum" of historical truth is fantastic or illogical.

Thanks to Professor Chadwick, we are able to test the reasonableness of this view by comparison with the Teutonic Epic. The divine element is here imported, in singular analogy to Homer, into the midst of events which are known to be historical. "A somewhat curious parallel," he writes,² "to the incident of Athene and Hector in *Il.* xxii. 226 ff. is to be found in the story of Haraldr Hilditönn, as told in Saxo's *History*, pp. 255, 263. Haraldr had a confidential servant named Bruno,

¹ Plutarch, *Theseus*, xxxv. 11.

² *The Heroic Age*, p. 251.

whom he employed to drive his chariot and to carry messages to his nephew Ringo (Sigurðr Hringr). This man eventually was drowned; but Othin took his place and form, and exerted himself to sow discord between the two kings. It was not until the battle at Bravalla had begun that Haraldr had any suspicion of the treachery which had been played upon him. Then suddenly recognizing the identity of his charioteer he begged him to grant him victory. But Othin threw him out of the chariot and slew him."

This comes, it is true, from times for which there are no historical records. But another poem, the *Hákonarmál*, not only deals with a real battle, that of Fitje in 961, but was composed by Eyvindr Skaldaspillir, who was himself present at the fight. The poem relates how Göndul and Skögun (two Valkyries) were sent by Othin to select a prince of Yngvi's line, who should go and dwell with him in Valhöll. Then, after a short account of the battle, we are told that "the princes sat with their swords drawn, with scarred shields and mail-coats pierced; in no cheerful mood was the host which had to make its way to Valhöll. Then said Göndul, as she leaned upon her spear: Now will the forces of the gods be increased, since they have summoned Haakon to their abodes with a great host. The prince heard what the noble Valkyries were saying. Thoughtful was their mien, as they sat on their steeds, with helmets upon their heads, and holding their shields

before them. 'Why hast thou thus decided the battle, Skögul? Surely we have deserved success from the gods.' 'We have brought it about that thou hast won the day, and that thy foes have fled. Now,' said the mighty Skögul, 'we must ride to the green homes of the gods, to tell Othin that a monarch is coming to enter his presence.'"¹

"One conclusion," Professor Chadwick rightly adds, "may safely be drawn from the Northern evidence; we must definitely dismiss the argument that the Homeric heroes cannot have been men of flesh and blood because they are brought into contact with the gods. No one will be so hardy as to suggest that King Haakon or his namesake, the famous earl of Lade, were products of myth or poetic imagination. Yet Göndul is as much responsible for the death of King Haakon as Athene is for that of Hector."² We may add for ourselves a further reflexion on the speed with which mythology can be introduced into the midst of historical events—in this case by an eye-witness.

It appears then that the gods of Homer are a class apart from men, mingling with them but sharply distinguished from them. This makes it *a priori* very improbable that the human actors are really in their essence gods akin to the Olympians; and it is all the more improbable when we find in the epics of another race the same mingling of gods with persons who are demonstrably historic personages. And the

¹ *Heroic Age*, p. 254.

² *Ibid.* p. 263.

improbability grows yet greater when we find that all the evidence which is quoted to prove that the Homeric heroes are "faded gods" comes from late authors, following Homer by many centuries. For it would seem that the consciousness of the divine nature of the heroes must have been at least as vivid in Homer's days as in Pausanias's; that those who listened to the Epos were conscious that the presentation of the god in human guise was a mere fraud. Agamemnon, we are told, was "probably originally a divinity worshipped at various places in the Peloponnesos and Boeotia, and later identified with Zeus."¹ It is surely rather hard to comprehend the poet who represented this divinity in positions so little divine as those which the king of men occupies in the *Iliad*; still harder to conceive the frame of mind of the hearer who went back from a recitation of the poem to worship this curious man-god. Agamemnon's apology for his great wrong, "I am not to blame; it is Zeus who is at fault,"² must surely have had a farcical ring to the Spartan hearer who knew all the time that Agamemnon was Zeus, and duly paid worship to the "Zeus Agamemnon" of whom Lykophron, Eustathios and Clement tell us. Let us at least leave open the alternative possibility, that Agamemnon did not become Zeus—if ever he became Zeus—till long after Homer's days, and that no one in Homer's time thought of him as anything but a man.

¹ Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Agamemnon." See also Appendix, Note A.

² *Il.* xix. 85-9.

In order that we may not seem to be fighting shadows, we will take another similar case, going again to Pauly-Wissowa, and to Dr. Bethe's article on Helen.

Dr. Bethe tells us: "Helene ist aus einer vermuthlich vorgriechischen Göttin die sagenberühmte Heroine geworden" ("Helen has grown from a presumably pre-Hellenic goddess into the famous heroine of legend"). What ground has he for this confident assertion? We must, I suppose, be grateful for the adverb *vermuthlich*; something at least is conjectural. But the conjecture applies, it would seem, only to the epithet *vorgriechisch* — pre-Hellenic. That she was originally a goddess is not a conjecture at all, but is offered as a mere statement of fact. Yet there is no pretence of evidence to support it; and it ignores, or rather flatly contradicts, evidence which points to an exactly opposite conclusion.

Dr. Bethe's Helen is very different from Homer's Helen. That Helen is, if ever a woman was, human through and through. She is a puppet of the gods, no goddess herself. That she is daughter of Zeus, a descent which she shares with many less important personages, avails her something. It brings her, in place of death at Argos, translation to the Elysian Fields, together with her husband. But the Elysian Fields are not Olympus; and she is to share her immortality, not with Zeus and the gods, but with Rhadamanthys, himself a man to whom the same

privilege has been accorded, but no god.¹ The *Odyssey* thus inferentially but decisively negatives any deification of Helen.

The fact is that the human race does not make men out of gods; but it is always very busy in making gods out of men. For examples of this process we can look where we will. Greece lost no time in turning its great men into objects of worship. Sacrifices were offered to Brasidas immediately on his death.² Deification was so familiar a process that it became a principle of statesmanship alike for Alexander and the Roman emperors from Augustus onwards. Those hard-headed men were not carried away by any insane vanity; they knew their business, and deliberately employed their shrewd insight into human nature to turn to their own ends a deeply rooted instinct. It is the same instinct which, as we know from a classic passage of English oratory, raised temples to Warren Hastings during his rule in India; which, in a humbler way, has caused a native soldier in India to build a shrine in honour of his deceased British officer, and offer on it a daily sacrifice of cheroots and brandy and water; which led only a year or two ago to the consecration in Japan of a temple to the gallant Nogi, who died by his own hand rather than survive his Emperor.³ It is the instinct to worship great men, and more especially the great dead—the ancestor-worship which is the moving

¹ *Od.* iv. 561 ff.

² *Thuc.* v. 11.

³ There has been at least one church in England dedicated to Saint Charles the Martyr, as readers of Macaulay's *History* will remember.

religious force of a large portion of mankind to-day. It is an instinct which even Christianity has had to recognize in the form of canonization, so nearly akin to the Greek worship with "heroic honours." Only a few years ago the Catholic Church formally beatified Joan of Arc. Will some Dr. Bethe arise 3000 years hence, and, after reading the history of the Hundred Years' War, assert that Joan of Arc is "a presumably pre-Gallic goddess"?

Until the contrary is proved then, or at least made probable, we are bound, when we find a character at one time human, at another time divine, to assume that the human element is the original, the divine super-added to it later. And with this principle of course the Greek evidence is in perfect agreement. The oldest account of Helen which we possess is Homer's, and to Homer she is human. It is to later Greece that she is, at least in Dr. Bethe's sense, a goddess. We must draw the inevitable conclusion that Helen was really a woman, and that it was the mythopoeic faculty of later ages which invested her with divine attributes.

"In Dr. Bethe's sense," I say; for Helen never really was a goddess in any strict sense of the word. In fact the theory with which we really have to reckon now is not Dr. Bethe's at all, but that of the anthropological school, led in England by Dr. Frazer, and developed on the mythological side by Miss Harrison, Professor Murray and others. It is their great merit to have shown that the really vital element in Greek religion is one to which the con-

ception of divinity is hardly applicable in any strict sense. The attributes which Helen took on her were, so far as they were not mere folk-tales such as the birth from the egg, those of a tree-spirit¹—one of those “daimons” of the wood and field who were worshipped with a ritual and for a purpose in which the real gods, the gods of Olympos, had little share or none. How these attributes came to be attached to the heroes and heroines of the Epos is a most important and interesting question; but it must for the moment be postponed till we have established a general view of Homeric Greece.² For the present it must be sufficient to say that though some of the attributes which came to be part of the later Helen are of the most primitive kind, and far earlier in the history of thought than the Epos, yet it was not till Helen had become famous in poetry that she took them upon her. When we say then that the human element is earlier than the religious, it is in this sense only; it is earlier in the history of the personage, not in the history of religious development. Helen has clothed herself in the garment of a remote predecessor; but Helen was Helen before she dressed for the masquerade of mythology.

We shall therefore not hesitate, starting from the fact that the Trojan War was a real war fought out in the place, and at least generally in the manner,

¹ She was worshipped as *Ἑλένη δένδρῆτις* in Rhodes. But in fact there is very little evidence of any worship of her beyond the sanctuaries at Amyklai and Therapnai, a direct result of the influence of the Epos.

² See Chapter VII.

described in Homer, to draw the further conclusion that some at least of the heroes whom Homer names as having taken a prominent part in that war were real persons, named by Homer's names, who did actually fight in that war. But we must be careful not to assume too much; we cannot arbitrarily place limits on poetical invention. Between the general fact that the war took place, and the most fanciful incidents described as occurring in it, such for instance as the battle of the gods in *Il.* xx., there is every gradation of actuality. The larger part of the incidents we shall of course dismiss at once as mere invention. And so with the names. A certain number of them are inextricably bound up with the Tale of Troy; others are pure fancy. We shall not conclude that because Achilles was a historical person, the same may be said of the dog Argos. And in deciding where legend ends and poetical invention begins we have a hard task. Even if the personages are historical so far as their names go, we can hardly suppose the same to be true of their personalities, so vividly portrayed in Homer. And it would certainly be rash to claim even the secondary names as belonging to the legend. Helen no doubt belongs to it from the first; but does Penelope? Or is she a free invention? That is a question which will assume some importance later on; one would be glad to have some criterion to tell, but it is not a matter on which any positive evidence is at hand.¹

¹ See the remarks of Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, p. 159: "We know

Yet even after making all these large concessions to poetic invention, we shall admit the possibility that there were broad data in the legend to which the poets conformed. It is at least possible that the outlines of the characters of Agamemnon and Achilles were such as the *Iliad* portrays them; and that a quarrel between the headstrong yet vacillating commander-in-chief and his fiery vassal may have had its influence on the fate of the Achaian host when it lay before Troy.

There is one more element in Homer which we must take into consideration, however, before we can venture to fix our historical background; and that is folk-tale or saga. In the *Iliad* this element is conspicuously and remarkably absent; but of the *Odyssey* it claims a large share. Now if it is true that the divine element in both poems can be clean cut out without affecting the main current of the story, it is even more true of the folk-tale element. That is shut into a single water-tight compartment; we can tell exactly the point where it begins and the point where it ends. It begins between the storm which drives Odysseus away from Maleia and his landing in the country of the Lotophagoi (*Odyssey*,

that some of the characters are historical in most of the (Teutonic) heroic stories. On the other hand, it is not obvious that a single one of the characters mentioned in the primary authorities is fictitious. This being so it is unreasonable to take the view that characters should be regarded as fictitious, unless they can be proved to be historical. On the contrary, until the use of fictitious characters is proved there is a decided presumption in favour of believing any given character to be historical—unless of course his name or some other special circumstance gives clear ground for suspicion." See also p. 299 ff. for the Homeric characters.

ix. 80-84). It ends in the course of the deep sleep which comes upon Odysseus as the Phaiakians are conveying him from Scherie to Ithaka (*Od.* xiii. 78-95). All that happens to Odysseus between these two points of his story is folk-tale undisguised. It has no connexion with the Tale of Troy; it is pure story-telling. Just as the intervention of the gods in the *Iliad* is so contrived as never to affect the course of the war, so the saga portion of the *Odyssey* is held quite clear of all events which could by any possibility be claimed as historical. And this clean-cut separation speaks not of a tale which has been purged of the theological and fairy story elements, but of a tale to which these elements have been added from without, merely for the instruction and delectation of the poet's audience.

Yet to this general rule there is one curious exception. One piece of folk-tale, or at least of folk-tale in the making, has crept into the story of the war, and in the *Odyssey* is firmly attached to it. That is the story of the Wooden Horse. This does not, of course, appear in the *Iliad*, where it could have no place, except by way of prophecy, as the fall of Troy lies outside the limits. But in the *Odyssey* it is fully developed in all its details. And it is the one piece of the whole tale which cannot be taken as literal history.

And after all the saga of the Wooden Horse is only one stage removed from sober fact. It is so near as to invite rationalization. Some have seen

the origin of the fancy in a saying like that of the oracle which said that Athens must be defended by its wooden walls; Troy was to be taken only by wooden horses—the ships which gallop across the sea, the ἄλδς ἵπποι, as Homer calls them.¹ This is ingenious—too ingenious, in fact; we need not go so far. The more obvious explanation is here, as so often, the more probable.² No one can have stood at the foot of the great Mycenaean walls at Hissarlik without feeling that, if ever they were scaled by Achaians, it must have been with the aid of some engineering device like that of the wheeled towers familiar to the Assyrians, drawn up close to the walls, and disgorging upon them their hidden freight of warriors. The explanation may be dull prosaic euhemerism; but after all it may be true. It is the common habit to give such mechanical devices the names of animals; the crane is a familiar case, and the analogy of the ram is even closer. It is highly probable that Troy was in fact taken in this way by a wooden horse; and that name led at once to the fanciful poetic treatment which Homer has fixed for all later poets. The only important addition which he has made to the kernel of the story is that the horse was actually brought within the walls before the deadly burden issued from it. Professor Murray, when he wrote *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, was sceptical even as to the capture

¹ *Od.* iv. 708.

² It has already been given by Prof. Gilbert Murray, Tr. of Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, p. 86; *Rise of the Greek Epic*, ed. 2, p. 56.

of Troy by Agamemnon's expedition ; it is interesting to see that, far from being confirmed in his scepticism by this part of the tale, he sees in it "a special air of verisimilitude" which almost inclines him to believe that the event was real.¹

We are at least doing nothing unreasonable if we take the ostensibly historic background of the Homeric poems to represent fact, clothed in poets' forms, but still remaining fact. We have the analogy of other Epic poems to confirm the view, and we have further the belief of the Greeks themselves. There is nothing in the story itself to arouse suspicion ; and the way in which poetry is woven into the background, far from rousing doubt, tends to confirm our belief ; for, as we have seen, none of the poetic elements have intruded themselves into the fundamental plot of the whole. The poet's imagination was not wholly free. There was some resistance setting up a barrier which he must not overpass. And what can this barrier have been but belief in certain facts—belief not only on his own part but on that of his hearers that he was working on a story not legendary but true, on achievements which were a sacred inheritance of the whole Hellenic race ?

This view makes no claim to originality or novelty. It is, with a difference, the oldest of all, the theory of the ancient Greeks themselves. It is after all

¹ The passages in the *Odyssey* where the story of the Wooden Horse is told are iv. 271-289, viii. 500-520, xi. 523-532.

only the criticism of the nineteenth century which enables it to be taken up again in the twentieth, to be remodelled with fresh knowledge of the methods of Epic poets, with fresh scepticism about the sources of Greek history, and fresh evidence from the monuments themselves—evidence quite inaccessible to the ancient world of Greece. And discussion of the excavations in Crete and on the mainland has unquestionably brought it vigorously to the front in the last decade. It is in the air, and is practically guiding all recent archaeological speculation, at least in England. If I have stated it in detail, I have done so mainly as a confession of faith, partly because it is not yet adequately recognized by philologists.

In confining ourselves to the historical side of the Homeric question we shall not, of course, be casting any slight on the literary value of the poems. That can stand for itself, and can in no way be affected by any judgment we may pass upon the origin of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—not even by the view we may take of the process by which they reached their present form. Personally I confess that my enjoyment of Achilles as a character is enhanced when I think of him as a man invested with the magic glamour of Greek imagination, rather than as a degraded sun-god who has been stripped of his beams, or as the personification of a Thessalian tribe which got scattered over half Greece. But that is one only of a thousand associations which combine to make up the essential impression, the charm; and for others it is, no doubt,

different. Our present task is to seek what may be found in Homer to cast light on a problem which is even wider than the literary question—the problem of the birth of Hellenism.

The answer to the question lies somewhere in what, following Professor Murray, I have called the Dark Ages, the three or four hundred years which precede the first glimmer of authentic history in the eighth century. We find Greece suddenly emerging from that darkness into the brilliant outburst of Ionic philosophy, Aeolic poetry, Doric manliness, which combine to form what we call Hellenism. Greek commerce and Greek ideas have taken possession of the world from Kertch to Cadiz, from Benghazi to Marseilles. Yet of the steps by which this amazing expansion was attained we know next to nothing; the most wonderful development of the human mind which the world has witnessed remains a riddle.

The answer to it, if it comes at all, can only be finally given by archaeology. But so far archaeology is practically silent after the fall of the Mycenaean epoch. There may yet be in store discoveries which will tell us as much about the rise and fall of Ionia as the remains of Knossos and Phaistos have told us about the rise and fall of Crete. But in the meantime the Homeric Epic, with Hesiod and the scanty remains of the Epic Cycle, are our only witnesses for that long period; and their testimony is hard to interpret. Interpreters are common enough, but

they constantly differ more and more. In mathematical language we seem to be dealing with a divergent series incapable of summation. If we are ever to find a solution, it will be only by transforming the series till it converges. And there can be no convergence except on some fixed point of hard fact. It is at least possible that the historical statements to be found as a background in Homer may supply that point; it is my hope to give reasons for supposing that they actually do so, and so to offer a ray of light across the Dark Ages. Of one thing I feel sure—that if ever there is to be agreement about the origin of Homer, it will be on these lines. It will rest with the spade to say if this or any other temporary solution is right or wrong.

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE ACHAIAANS

LET us attempt to fill our outline first with the aid of such evidence as archaeology and Egyptian records will afford us of the international relations of the Greek continent in Mycenaean times. For this purpose we must go back to the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.

At that time the centre of the Aegean culture was unquestionably in Crete. The last great age of Cretan civilization was in its prime. The artists and merchants of the "Palace" period were building the great palace of Knossos, and manufacturing and exporting to the south and east the products of their splendid art; while to the north-west they had kinsmen hardly second to themselves.

At the head of every one of the deep bays which indent the southern coast of Greece are found the indisputable signs of Minoan influence. The Messenian Gulf has the Mycenaean site of Kampos, the Laconian that of Vaphio. The Argolic has the richest and best known of all—Mykene and Tiryns. The Saronic has the remains of Eleusis and Athens. At

the nearest available point to the channel of the Euripos were settlements at Orchomenos and Thebes ; while ultimately at least, if at a somewhat later date, the same power made itself felt up to the head of the Pagasaean Gulf, at Dimini and Volo. And it flowed round the western coast of the Peloponnesos, to Kakovatos, and even up the Corinthian Gulf to Kalydon and Delphi. The distribution of the sites tells plainly of the coming of a people from the south-east, who had reached astounding proficiency in wealth, art, and power. They had apparently come to dwell among a people far inferior to themselves, still in the Neolithic stage, and quite unable to cope with the newcomers and their perfected weapons of bronze.

What the ethnic and linguistic affinities of the two races, the men of stone and the men of bronze, may have been, is still a matter of guess-work. As to the men of bronze we may some day learn more, if ever Sir A. Evans's collections of inscriptions can be deciphered. All we can say as yet is that the probabilities are in favour of a southern, non-Aryan kinship. As for the Neolithic men of the continent, though we are never likely to have any such positive evidence, yet there is reason, as we shall see, for guessing with more confidence that they came from the north, that they were in fact an early wave of the Aryan migration southwards ; that they were Hellenic in stock, and spoke a Greek dialect, of which it is possible that the Arcadian may be a direct descendant, preserved by its remoteness.

There was certainly a long period through which these Cretan invaders dwelt in Greece, building and rebuilding their palaces, and acquiring the vast stores of gold and works of art which testify alike to their taste, their prosperity, and their power. Though their culture is entirely derived from that of Crete, it took an independent development in its new home, and the distinction between the names Minoan and Mycenaean expresses a real difference. The most obvious contrast is that embodied in the great fortifications by which the invaders defended themselves against possible attack from a hostile population; the rulers of Knossos, among their own people and secured from foreign invasion by the command of the sea, seem to have despised fortification, while the walls of Tiryns and Mykene are still among the wonders of the world. A second fundamental difference is found in the planning of the palaces. The "labyrinthine" ground-plans of Crete are radically opposed to the simpler "megaron" plan found on the mainland, and proved by the second stratum of Hissarlik to have been indigenous in the more northern districts. Something, therefore, if not much, must have been contributed by the indigenous population.

The occupation of these sites by their founders must have lasted a couple of centuries at least. That much is required both for the rebuilding of the palace at Tiryns and for the interval between the shaft-graves and the great bee-hive tombs at Mykene.

These represent the periods called Late Minoan I. and II.; and the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries roughly give the length of time ascribed to them.¹ Such long contact cannot have been without some reaction from the indigenous inhabitants upon their masters.

This long period of prosperity came to an end not far from the year 1400. Then it was that the great palace of Knossos was destroyed and sacked, never to recover its former grandeur. The period which followed, Late Minoan III., covering the whole of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, and in some cases at least reaching much further down, was an age of turmoil and disaster over the whole of the eastern Mediterranean. The Hittite empire was wearing itself out in a deadly struggle with Egypt, culminating in the battle of Kadesh, about 1250 B.C. This seems to have exhausted the victorious Egyptians hardly less than their enemies; and then, upon the rear of both parties, there descended from the north, from the "isles beyond the sea," hordes of new invaders. One of these hordes, the Muski or Moschoi, kinsmen it would seem of the Phrygians, actually fought their way through the heart of the Hittite kingdom, capturing and destroying Pteria the capital about 1200 B.C., and finally settling in Armenia till they were annihilated by the rising power of Assyria.

Others turned southwards, and reached their furthest limit in the two great concerted attacks

¹ Some would make the period still longer, putting the shaft-graves of Mykene as far back as Middle Minoan III.

on Egypt in the reigns of Meneptah and Rameses III. The former of these took place about 1225 B.C. It was led by the Libyans, and among the tribes of the north who joined in the attack were the people whose name is read Aqaiusha or Ekwesh, and who, as Egyptologists tell us, may reasonably be identified with the Achaians. The second and greater invasion was about twenty-five years later, and of this long accounts have been preserved in Egyptian papyri and inscriptions. Allied peoples from the north were again acting in concert with Libyans from the west. The inroad was made simultaneously by sea and land. The invaders entered Syria from Asia Minor, "reaching the Euphrates, destroying the Hittite cities, and progressing southwards, while their ships gathered plunder from the coasts of the Delta. This fleet joined the Libyan invaders, but was overthrown with heavy loss by the Egyptians."¹

In this invasion were concerned, among others, the Danauna; and these the Egyptologists, though with somewhat less confidence than in the case of the Aqaiusha, are disposed to identify with the Greek Danaans, who survive as a name, but no more, in Homer. It would be a curious confirmation of an obscure piece of Greek legend if the daughters of Danaos, who came to Greece fleeing before the sons

¹ F. Ll. Griffiths in *Ency. Brit.* ix. 85. See also Hall, *Oldest Civilisation*, p. 173; *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 380-2; "Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea" in *B.S.A.* viii. 182. I understand, however, that it is no longer safe to equate the Keftiu with the Minoans of Crete: G. A. Wainwright in *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, iv. part 2, 24.

of Aigyptos, were in fact the women of the Danauna—for some, at least, of the invaders took their families with them—escaping on their ships to Greece after the defeat and slaughter of the men of the expedition.

It is, however, with the Achaians that our concern is. They are the people who appear in Homer as leading a combined expedition over the seas against Troy; and the monuments prove to us at least that such great combined invasions were not only not improbable, but were actually the order of the day, in the regions and the times with which Homer professes to deal. It seems safe to conclude that the Achaians were part of the flood of incomers from the north, whose first wave had overwhelmed Greece and passed on to Knossos; and further to conclude that they were the dominant tribe of Greece from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards. It must follow from this that the Achaians were the people who, on the mainland at least, are represented for us by the Mycenaean culture of Late Minoan III.

Now there is not, on the mainland of Greece, any sign of a cataclysm comparable to that of which the destruction of the palace at Knossos gives us the certain proof. We must therefore go on to assume that the conquest of the mainland was of such a nature that the conquerors did not destroy but assimilated the civilization which they found in possession; that in their way they even encouraged the practice of the Minoan art by the survivors of

the old dominant class. And the fact of the admitted decadence of Minoan art in this its last stage is at least not inconsistent with such a hypothesis. Let us therefore take this as the basis of our further argument.

There are no doubt difficulties in the way of this explanation; but there seem to me to be far greater difficulties in the way of any other. And it is impossible to discuss the question without reference to the opinion which has been expressed by so eminent an authority as Sir A. Evans.

In his remarkable Presidential Address to the Hellenic Society, delivered in June 1912, on "The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life," Sir Arthur dwells strongly on the continuity which marks the development of Minoan culture from beginning to end. "When we come to regard the remains themselves," he says,¹ "as stratified by the various catastrophes, it becomes evident that they are the results of a gradual evolution. There is no break. Alike in the architectural remains and the internal decorations, in every branch of art the development is continuous, and, though the division into distinct periods stratigraphically delimited is useful for purposes of classification, the style of one phase of Minoan culture shades off into that of another by imperceptible gradations. The same is true of the remains of the Early Minoan periods that lie behind the Age of Palaces, and the unity of the

¹ *J.H.S.* xxxii. 281.

whole civilization is such as almost to impose the conclusion that there was a continuity of race."

Sir Arthur, therefore, comes to the conclusion that "the age of Homer is more recent than the latest stage of anything that can be called Minoan or Mycenaean. It is at most 'Sub-Mycenaean.' It lies on the borders of the Geometrical Period, and though the archaeological stratum with which it is associated contains elements that may be called 'Sub-Mycenaean' it is artistically speaking a period of barbarism and degradation" (p. 287). Sir Arthur goes on to say that "Homer, though professedly commemorating the deeds of Achaian heroes, is able to picture them among surroundings, which, in view of the absolute continuity of Minoan and Mycenaean history, we may now definitely set down as non-Hellenic."

In other words, Sir A. Evans, if I understand him right, conceives the Achaians as a rude people, at least in the material arts, who took over and developed into the Homeric poems the achievements of the Minoans; the Homeric Achaians are clothed, not with their own culture, but with that of the people whom they dispossessed.¹

¹ In *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 115 "T. W. A." writes: "If we push Sir A. Evans's statements to their logical conclusion, Achaeans was what the Minoans called themselves." It should in fairness be added that such a conclusion is repudiated in the most emphatic terms by Sir A. Evans himself; he writes (*J.H.S.* xxxii. 281): "If the inhabitants of the latest Palace structures are to be regarded as 'Achaeans' the Greek occupation of Crete must, on this showing, be carried back to Neolithic times. A consequence of this conclusion—improbable in itself—would be that these hypothetical Greeks approached their mainland seats from the south instead of the north. Who would defend such a view?"

The difficulties in the way of such a theory are obvious—above all, the really appalling difficulty of the supposition that the Homeric poems, the finished works of a supreme art, can have arisen among people whose art is shown, by the poor remains attributed to them, to have been barbarous and degraded. Such an assumption could only be forced upon us by overwhelming evidence. And I venture to suggest, with all deference to so great an authority, that Sir Arthur's evidence is anything but overwhelming; in fact that it starts from a major premiss which is incapable of proof—the premiss that where there is continuity of culture there must of necessity be continuity of race.¹ If that premiss is untrue, then all Sir Arthur's argument falls to the ground. And it will be sufficient to bring forward one certain case of the contrary—one certain instance of a change of race which did not bring about any discernible change of culture—and the cogency of Sir Arthur's premiss vanishes at once. The assumption is that of a universal proposition, "All changes of race involve changes of culture perceptible to the archaeologist." There must, I am sure, be many contradictory instances which might be brought forward by a historian commanding a wider field than I²; but I will bring

¹ I do not presume to dispute the minor, that there is no perceptible discontinuity in Crete; but it is not universally accepted. Many good authorities believe that they can detect a wholly new influence entering with L.M. III.

² Compare E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. p. 52: "Alle Geschichte zeigt, dass Wechsel des Stils, der Lebenseinrichtungen, der Sitte und Religion mit Wechsel der Bevölkerung nichts zu thun hat." This is surely going too far.

forward one; and one is sufficient to invalidate Sir Arthur's conclusion.

The history of the world gives instances enough of the intrusion of new races into older civilizations; the results vary infinitely. There are invasions like that of the Mongols into the cultured lands of Central Asia in the thirteenth century, invasions which are merely destructive. The Mongols annihilated the civilization of Samarcand, and permanently damaged that of Persia. There are other invasions where the new-comers bring their own civilization, and establish it at the expense of their forerunners. Such are the Moslem invasion of Spain, the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain.

But there are other invasions which do not bring about any perceptible change in the art and culture of the lands which they visit; and the mere possibility of such a thing seems sufficient proof that we cannot assume continuity of culture as in itself decisively excluding discontinuity of race. We are bound, I think, to take refuge in almost any possible hypothesis rather than conclude that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the product of an age which is "artistically a period of barbarism and degradation"; and in this particular case the hypothesis is one of no inherent difficulty, and is supported, as I shall endeavour to show, by much collateral evidence.

For a familiar historical instance of an invasion such as I have spoken of it might be sufficient to refer to that which led to the settlement of the Normans in

the province of France which took its name from them. That invasion, as we know, was in no way catastrophic. The Normans harried the coasts of France for a number of years, raiding and plundering but not annihilating, till in the tenth century it was found more convenient by the weak powers of France to buy them off with a grant of land in the valley of the Seine. In another century the invaders had been assimilated by the Latin civilization into the midst of which they had come. They had abandoned their religion, their language, even their national tradition, and adopted wholesale those of their Gallic neighbours. When they crossed the Channel to invade England, they seem to have lost all sense of their Teutonic kinship with the Saxons, and it is doubtful if they even knew that their name meant Northmen. The war-song which Taillefer chanted as they marched to battle was not a Viking saga, but the song of Roland and the peers of Charlemagne. They had taken over so completely the art of their adopted land that, though they set the mark of their own character on their architecture, it would not, I think, be possible for an archaeologist ignorant of historical facts to see in it anything but a perfectly continuous development from the Romanesque.

But it is possible to give a still more complete and apposite instance of assimilative invasion. When in the eleventh century the descendants of these same Normans invaded Sicily they did not adopt the language—or rather, either of the two languages—of

the island; and being already Christian, they did not change their religion. But they adopted in its entirety the native Sicilian art, leaving on it no impress of their own. Let us turn to the brilliant essays on "Normans" and "Sicily" contributed by Professor Freeman to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹

When the Normans came to Sicily, the Saracens had been in possession of the island for two hundred and thirty years. They "were hindered by their internal feuds from becoming a great power"—the cantonal division was almost as natural in Sicily as in Greece—"but they stood high among Mahommedan nations. Their advance in civilization is shown by their position under the Normans, and above all by their admirable style of architecture. Saracens are always called in for any special work of engineering or building. They had a literature which Norman kings studied and promoted. The Normans, in short, came into the inheritance of the two most civilized nations of the time, and they allowed the two to flourish side by side. The most brilliant time for Sicily as a power in the world begins with the coming of the Normans. Never before or after was the island so united or so independent. Some of the old tyrants had ruled out of Sicily; none had ruled over all Sicily."²

Again: "With the Saracen and the Greek to his subjects, the Norman had really no need to innovate;

¹ I quote from the 9th edition, which has Freeman's own authority. The articles have been a good deal remodelled in the 11th edition.

² xxii. 25.

he had simply to bid the men of the land to go on working for him instead of for any other. The palaces and churches of the Norman kings at Palermo and Monreale and Cefalu and Messina are in style simply Saracenic; they were most likely the work of Saracen builders; they were beyond doubt built after Saracenic models."¹ Once more: "The Norman has vanished from Sicily as though he had never been. His very works of building are hardly witnesses to his presence, because, without external evidence, we should never have taken them to be his."²

The Norman invasion of Italy is in fact a type of a whole class of invasions—the conquest of a decaying civilization by a comparatively small number of warlike adventurers. The conditions are those which we may fairly assume for the Achaian conquest of Greece. The victories of Count Roger, which subjected the whole island to his sway, started from the hold which his brother Robert had already gained in Apulia. Roger was invited over to the island by a discontented noble who turned traitor to his own people. Starting with a band of retainers he won possession of the castle of Messina, and thence proceeded to the capture of one stronghold after another.

¹ xvii. 551 (11th ed., xix. 755).

² xvii. 552. Sir A. Evans has called my attention to an almost equally striking case; the most certain instance of the architecture of the Goths is at the same time one of the most typical examples of pure Byzantine art—the great work of Theodoric at Ravenna. Cf. E. Meyer, *G. d. Alt.* ii. 283: "Wer würde allein aus den Monumenten schliessen können, dass ein Theil der Kirchen von Ravenna und der gewaltige Grabbau Theodorichs nicht unter römischer, sondern unter gothischer Herrschaft gebaut sind?"

It was a war, not against the Sicilians, but against their rulers. Those who held the castles held the land. The common people were hardly affected. The Saracens themselves entered into the service of the Normans and formed the best part of the armies employed in their later conquests.

The analogy may, with all due reserve, be pushed yet further. When Count Roger came, the island had been for more than two hundred years under the rule of the Saracens, who, coming from Africa, had introduced their own arts and manners throughout, and carried them to high perfection, though they had never supplanted, or even converted to their own religion, the older Greek-speaking inhabitants. Thus the Normans could reckon on strong sympathy from the Christian element in the subject population.

What was the situation in Greece? The Minoans, coming like the Saracens from the south, had, we assume, subdued the older population of the mainland—again, to all appearance, a Greek-speaking race—and introduced and continued, (with some characteristic changes, their own Minoan art. There appear on the northern frontier tribes of warlike adventurers on their way southwards, probably by the Morava and Vardar valleys, from the Danube plains, to which they can be traced, with some confidence, by the remains of their own art. The particular adventurers with whom we have to deal seem to have settled for a time in Epeiros, around Dodona. They are in a position like that of the Normans in Apulia. Let us guess at the

sort of thing that may have happened. A quarrel arises between the Minoan chiefs of Pleuron and Kalydon. The chief of Kalydon is getting the worst of it; he thinks only of beating his enemy, and sends across the border for help from the turbulent tribes of whose warlike capacity and adventurous spirit he has had only too painful proof in many a border raid. An Achaian chief accordingly collects a band of a few hundred adventurers, whose swords, thrown into the scales, determine the war. But the new-comers, finding themselves in a pleasant land, have not the least intention of accepting the promised pay and retiring. They have taken the measure of the Minoans, and hold on till Pleuron and Kalydon alike pass under their sway; it is merely a question of the slaughter of a chieftain or two, and the palaces are in their hands, and wives and children are sent for from home to dwell permanently in the goodly heritage.

Meanwhile another Achaian chieftain named Pelops has been looking further afield. He has heard of the excellent pasture land in the plains of Elis, and boldly sets out by ship, with a chosen band of his own, on an extensive raid after cattle and horses. He finds that resistance is very feeble, and takes possession of the country; those at home, hearing of his success, flock after him across the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, and, as a solid sign of permanent occupation, bring with them, to the place afterwards known as Olympia, the worship of the gods whom, at an earlier stage of their

wanderings, when they were settled in Pieria and the Haliacmon valley, they had vividly conceived as dwelling on the top of the great Olympos, the staircase from heaven to earth.

Others chose the easy passage of the lagoon which separates the island of Leukas from the mainland, and had thence gone on by ship to subdue the whole chain of islands stretching from Kephallenia to Zakynthos. A still more daring band had ventured by the passes of Tymphrestos into the fertile valley of the Spercheios, and had thence extended their sway by water along the coast which extends to the head of the Pagasaeon Gulf, where they had subdued the old Minyan rulers of Iolkos, and held all the coast up to the northern margins of the hills which cut off southern Thessaly from the great plains of the interior.

It was, however, to the settlers in Elis, to Pelops and his family, that the chief rôle was reserved. They extended along the coast lands to the south and east, and finally set the seal upon their conquest by occupying Mykene, the key to the whole Peloponnesos. The possession of this fortress, and of its elder sister Tiryns, made them undisputed chiefs, save possibly in the distant country of the Pagasaeon Gulf, of the whole community of the Achaians.

Large parts of the country indeed they did not occupy at all. The rude Arcadians, on their plateau fringed by hills, were left alone, though they were

the cause of many frontier squabbles. Nor, it would seem, did the Achaians ever directly rule the Kadmeans and Minyans, who held between them the land afterwards to be called Boeotia, or the peoples of Euboea, Eleusis, and Attica. It is likely enough that there were not enough Achaians to hold all these lands; it may well have been better worth the conquerors' while to leave them in nominal alliance, subject no doubt, at least in the case of the Boeotian powers, to a tribute commensurate with the richness of their soil. Of real independence, for a Boeotia hemmed in between Peleus in the north and the house of Atreus at Mykene, commanding the isthmus in the south, there can hardly have been a question. These were what in modern India would be called the "independent" states.

That is, I think, a rough picture of the Achaian conquest of Greece—the work of a small number of determined men, perhaps only a few thousands all told, the displacement of one ruling caste by another, involving little destruction, not even much slaughter. The conquered country was annexed not by any occupation of the whole, but by the mere holding of strategic points and lines of communication. The Achaians held in fact all the coasts of the Peloponnesos, with the valley of the Eurotas and the dominant passes in the north-east, but not the Arcadian plateau in the centre; they were guarded on the north by the possession of the Spercheios valley and the southern fringe of Thessaly,

on the west by the islands, with Aetolia and Lokris to keep up communication by land; while the great island of Crete, with its dependencies on both sides, served as a bridge towards a promised land in the east. The rest of the mainland is held, not by occupation, but by a semi-independent vassalage of the representatives of the old Minoan families. This is the outline which it will be our business to fill up, ending, I may hope, with the impression that it is not such mere random guessing as may appear at first sight. As an instance of the sort of confirmation which will gradually appear, it may be noticed that the area exactly coincides with a linguistic region, that covered in later Greek times by the group of the "north-western Greek dialects," as made out, with great force and learning, by Professor Chadwick.¹ This, however, is hardly a ground for concluding that the Achaians spoke a dialect of the "north-western" type; it justifies us only in the inference that these are the districts which are naturally occupied by invaders from the north-west. It may well be that the Dorians followed similar lines of advance, and were met by similar obstacles, to those which had encouraged or checked their Achaian predecessors, and that the Achaian dialect was lost in the language of the new-comers.

The supposition that the Achaians were no more than a small military caste, living in the castles

¹ *The Heroic Age of Greece*, pp. 281 ff., and particularly the maps between 288 and 289.

from which they ruled a subject population, is at least not inconsistent with anything to be found in the Homeric poems. It is a commonplace to comment on the insignificance of the multitude in Homer; the action is confined to the chiefs and some of their favoured followers. The very recognition of the fact, now I believe generally admitted, that the Homeric poems are essentially aristocratic and not popular poetry, implies the same thing. They deal only with a small and dominant class, the chieftain and his retainers, who live together in the fortresses to feast and sing, while the common folk dwell in the country to till the soil for the benefit of their lords, with whom they share neither arts nor religion.

That the conquering class should, as in the case of the Normans in Sicily, be small in numbers would naturally seem to be one of the necessary conditions of an invasion which leaves no permanent mark on the civilization which it annexes. Another necessary condition—and this will, I think, suffice—is that the invaders should be readily susceptible to influences from without; that they should have the quick taste to admire and understand the best work of the world into which they have entered, and no national prejudice strong enough to prevent their taking it over and cultivating it as though it were their own.

Now we have no literary picture of the Achaians from the outside from which we could form an

independent judgment; yet such a national trait may be deduced from the poems themselves. Though the songs in praise of Achaian heroes could hardly be expected to show them as admiring and imitating what was foreign, yet they do reveal them as very unconscious of any marked barrier between themselves and other nations. It has long been remarked that there is nothing in Homer of the sentiment which later on so sharply distinguished the idea of "Hellenes" and "barbarians." Achaians and Lykians are on friendly terms, and recognize the bonds of friendship even on the field of battle. There is hardly a trace of national repugnance even between Achaians and Trojans. Foreign works of art are eagerly sought after. The ideal nation is depicted in the Phaeacians, who, whatever may have been the model from which they are drawn, are certainly not Achaians.

In later times the people who most markedly of all the Greeks showed this readiness to imitate and adopt foreign manners, even after the distinction between Greek and barbarian was fully developed, were the Asiatic Ionians. Whatever the real origin of the Ionians may have been, it is hardly to be doubted that the Achaians had a large share in their formation. In this almost excessive adaptability we may fairly see an inherited type. And we must not forget that in the great crisis of their national history half the Greeks on the mainland were quite ready to Medize. We can hardly deny

the conclusion that their precursors the Achaïans were likely to have had this quality as well.

In the Normans it was of course very marked. Let us turn again to the essay of Freeman already quoted, and, with Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Achilles in our minds, see if we do not find a picture which in many traits might pass for a portrayal of Homer's Achaïans.

"Their character," Freeman says, "is well painted by a contemporary historian¹ of their exploits. He sets the Normans before us as a race specially marked by cunning, despising their own inheritance in the hope of winning a greater, eager after both gain and dominion, given to imitation of all kinds, holding a certain mean between lavishness and greediness—that is, perhaps uniting, as they certainly did, these two seemingly opposite qualities. . . . They were, moreover, a race skilful in flattery, given to the study of eloquence, so that the very boys were orators, a race altogether unbridled unless held firmly down by the yoke of justice." . . . "Little of original invention can be traced to any strictly Norman source; but no people were ever more eager to adopt from other nations, to take into their service and friendship from any quarter men of learning and skill and eminence of every kind. To this quality is perhaps to be attributed the fact that a people who did so much, who settled

¹ Geoffrey Malaterra. The original Latin will be found in the passage which I am quoting, *Ency. Brit.* xvii. 547 (11th ed., xix. p. 752).

and conquered in, so large a part of Europe, has practically vanished from the face of the earth. If Normans, as Normans, now exist anywhere, it is only in that insular fragment of the ancient duchy which still cleaves to the successor of the ancient dukes. Elsewhere, as the settlers in Gaul became French, the emigrants from Gaul became English, Irish, Scottish, and whatever we are to call the present inhabitants of Sicily and southern Italy."

Is not this the history of the Achaiaans over again? When history begins to dawn again after Homeric days, the Achaiaans who in Homer are dominant have ceased to exist. Their place is taken by new races, and their name survives only in one or two geographical expressions; the very name of Achaia belongs to the country which to Herodotos is the original home not of the Achaiaans but of the Ionians. It is not unreasonable, I think, to argue back from like results to like causes, and to conclude that there must have been similarity in the conditions of the Norman conquests and the Achaian.

Let us now try to imagine for ourselves what would be the outlook on the world around them which would present itself to the eyes of a small dominant race, when it had thus made itself responsible for the government and well-being of Greece in a time of general unrest in the Mediterranean region.

Though the numbers of the Achaiaans were in the first instance undoubtedly small, a very few

thousands at most, yet they would be continually augmented by fresh arrivals from the north, whence the pressure of migration still continued. One of the first considerations that must have forced itself upon them would be that Greece cannot live from Greece alone.

At the back of the whole history of Greece, ancient and modern alike, lies the economic fact that the land cannot produce subsistence for the population which lives within it. The plains of Greece are, with few exceptions, small, and often rendered barren instead of fertile by the violent torrents which in the spring freshets cover them, not with rich alluvium, but with wastes of boulders and shingle. The rainless, or almost rainless summer, at least in the eastern portion, renders agriculture difficult, the more so as the configuration of the surface rarely permits extensive irrigation. And, as in all other regions which enjoy what is technically known as the "Mediterranean climate," the pastoral industry is carried on only by the possibility of driving the flocks and herds up the hills in summer, when the pastures of the lowlands have been burnt up by the unfailing heat and drought. Cereals are to-day by far the largest article among Greek imports; and Athens was vanquished instantly by the loss of the waterway by which she brought her vital supplies of grain from the Euxine corn-fields.

But Nature, while denying to Greece the blessings of agricultural wealth, has made up for the

want by every condition required for prosperous commerce. Greece is made to be a land of sailors and merchants. It lies directly on the road between all the rich lands to the north, south, east, and west. Its coast-line is far longer in proportion to its surface than that of any other European country; though Greece is smaller than Portugal, its coast is longer than that of Spain and Portugal together. It is provided with abundant harbours, facing in every direction, and the steady summer winds make sailing in the Aegean Sea for six months of the year a comparatively safe and certain matter. It is therefore a necessity that the Greek should learn to make his living abroad, to settle whether as merchant or producer in foreign lands, and either control or create the markets which will feed those who stay at home.

Where was the Achaian of the thirteenth century B.C. to look for the openings which were indispensable to the expansion, in fact to the existence, of his country?

Evidently the north—Macedonia and Thrace—was closed; for it was thence that the pressure of immigration was making itself felt. There may have been a slackening for a time; but the moving force was still in existence, and was tending to grow till, not so long after, the “Dorian” invasion again overwhelmed Greece. There could be no thought of migration right against the prevailing stream.

If on the other hand the Achaians followed the

prevailing stream, they would be carried on to Egypt. That course they in fact tried, as we know, as part of a great confederacy; but the attempt had been severely repulsed, and it was half a millennium before the Greeks got a footing in the Delta. The repulse from Egypt included a repulse from Syria. Settlement, therefore, was impossible in the south-east as it was in the north; and the Phenicians probably held already so strong a position along the African coast that no opening for an Achaian Cyrene was to be found. Commerce, too, along all the coast from Spain by the south to Syria was in Phenician hands; and we know how jealously these great traders held the monopoly of their commercial sphere of influence.

It was therefore either to the east or the west or both that the Achaians had to look for expansion. Now it is curious to notice that on the west their horizon was, if we may judge from Homer, a most narrowly restricted one. West of Ithaka there is only one name which they seem to have known, and that is the name of the Sikels; and we cannot even guess whether these Sikels, who appear only as slave-dealers, were settled in southern Italy or in Sicily itself. There is in fact no western geography in Homer at all; from Ithaka we pass straight into fairyland.

That the horizon of the *Odyssey* should be thus limited on the west is surely a remarkable fact. It is very strange that there should not be a single

trace of any voyage across the mouth of the Adriatic, at one point only forty miles broad, when in the other direction Greeks are familiar with Egypt, Phenicia, and Cyprus, and can even be represented as reaching the Ethiopians and Libya—though the latter country is the source of curious tales in natural history (*Od.* iv. 85 ff.), and is a region to which wily Phenicians try to lure inquisitive Achaians in the hope of selling them into slavery, thus at once making a profit and frustrating any undesirable curiosity (*Od.* xiv. 295 ff.).

The fact is still more remarkable when we consider the positive evidence that the Mycenaean culture was known in Sicily. The remains which have been found there are indisputable evidence that there was communication in the Mycenaean age between Sicily and some country where this culture was flourishing. The *Odyssey* seems to show clearly enough that this communication did not take place through any Achaian channel; and the grouping of the chief sites yet known round the south-eastern portion of the island,¹ coupled with the reappearance of a similar Mycenaean culture in Spain, is in itself strong evidence that it was the Phenicians who were the intermediaries. It would be entirely consonant with what we know of them that they should have taken advantage of the fall of Knossos, at the end of the Palace period

¹ See the instructive map (No. 4) in Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Age in Italy*, and the footnote on p. 186 hereafter.

in or about 1400 B.C., to get hold of all the trade which the island may have possessed to the west, and clung to it with the tenacity so familiar to us in the history of later Carthage.

This, however, will not suffice to explain the exclusion of the Achaïans in the north-west; the Phenicians cannot be supposed to have barred them from crossing the Adriatic. For that exclusion some further explanation is needed; I shall endeavour to suggest it when, in Chap. V., we have to deal with the realm of Odysseus. For the present it is sufficient to note that there was some insuperable barrier which precluded Achaïan expansion westwards.

It was eastwards, then, that the Achaïans turned, to the great continental promontory of Asia Minor. The Aegean Sea had long been sailed over by the ships of Crete and by the Phenicians; it is a great highway, and the nearer parts of it were familiar to the Achaïans; they knew something at any rate of those that lay outside.

But they could not win a footing on the eastern side without a struggle; other powers were already in possession. From the long stretch of the southern shore, reaching from Lykia to Syria, they seem to have been effectually excluded. Homer, at least, betrays no knowledge of any part of it. Their access to it was probably effectually blocked at the southwestern corner of the peninsula by the power of Lykia. Of the Lykians Homer speaks always with a quite particular respect. They are represented as

having been at one time in close and friendly relations with the Achaian powers of the mainland; Proitos, the king of Argos, was on such intimate terms that he did not hesitate to ask for the kind assistance of the king of Lykia in the murder of Bellerophon.

The position of Lykia, with harbours facing east, south, and west, just at the point where the navigation of the deeply indented western coast of Asia Minor begins, gave it a most favourable position for the command of the oversea and coasting trade alike, between Egypt and Phenicia on the one hand and the whole Aegean basin on the other; and there is strong ground *a priori*, though archaeological evidence is still very defective, for supposing that up to 1200 B.C. the Lykians were a dominant merchant power. The old tradition that the famous walls of Tiryns were built by "Cyclopes from Lykia" may well contain some truth. As soon as Schliemann had cleared the galleries in the walls of Tiryns and revealed their plan, it was seen that they showed a striking resemblance to those of ancient Carthage. We must therefore admit at least the possibility that they were built not by Achaians but by foreigners; that the Lykians may have been the contractors who supplied, whether from their own country or from Phenicia, the architects and masons who erected these masterful walls and casemates.

Along the western coast of the peninsula to the north of Lykia there are only isolated points where we have any evidence that the country was known to

the Achaians. Mycenaean remains are remarkably scanty. They have been found so far at one or two points only—at Miletos and at Hissarlik. The evidence is as yet almost wholly negative; for at no other place have such thorough excavations been carried out as to justify the assertion that no such remains exist. There is, in fact, one striking instance to prove how necessary it is to reserve our judgment in such matters. Schliemann dug at Hissarlik for several years, and believed himself to have laid bare the whole history of the successive settlements, without having lit on a single trace of Mycenaean art. It was only in 1890 that the first sherds were found which led to the uncovering of the Homeric walls and the establishment of the site as one which had flourished in the Mycenaean age and come within the influence of Mycenaean culture. With this example before us it would be rash to say that no Mycenaean remains exist buried beneath the soil of western Asia Minor. There are many places where they may yet be found.

But Mr. Hogarth¹ has called attention to a significant fact which must not be left out of sight. Whereas in Crete, and even in Greece, Mycenaean objects can be found in comparative abundance without excavation, no such casual finds reward the inquisitive archaeologist in the bazaars or among the peasants of Asia Minor. This is a strong argument against anything in the way of a settlement of Minoan

¹ *Ionia and the East*, p. 47.

colonists anywhere on this coast. But it does not forbid the possibility of communication and trade. Hissarlik is the proof of this. There are, so far as I know, no Mycenaean objects to be picked up anywhere in the Troad; yet Mycenaean ware was imported to Troy, and though it did not supplant the native pottery, it had a marked influence on its design. There was no adoption of Mycenaean culture there, yet it is certain that the place held intercourse with Mycenaean countries to the south. It will probably be found in the course of time that the same is true of other places in Lydia and Caria.

Mr. Hogarth has concluded, rightly as I have no doubt, that the contrast between the Greek and the Asiatic shores—the former permeated throughout by Minoan influence on such a scale as to prove a real occupation, the latter only partially affected in one or two spots—points to some definite resistant force in Asia which kept the Cretan culture at bay. He conjectures that this force is to be found in the predominance of the Hittite empire, which at its height certainly stretched down to this western shore. The conjecture is an extremely likely one. What one can see of the Hittite culture shows it to have been wholly alien from anything in the Aegean area, very hard-set and rigid, very unlikely to accept anything from the outside. Coming down from the central highlands of the peninsula till at the sea it met an alien civilization, it may well have faced the unknown with a jealous enmity and not unjustified appre-

hension, excluding it as rigorously as the Japanese excluded the West till the middle of the last century, or, not to go so far afield, as the Egyptians themselves for the greater part of their history kept at bay all foreign influence.

But in the thirteenth century the Hittite empire was in rapid decline. It was harassed on the south by the struggle with Egypt, ending in the battle of Kadesh; on the north and west by the incursions of the bands from Thrace, which had been forcing their way eastwards as their kinsmen, the Achaians, had been penetrating to the Greek peninsula. It is likely enough that the Phrygian occupation of the north-west corner of Asia Minor was roughly contemporaneous with the appearance of the Achaians before the walls of the fortresses of the Peloponnese. One band of the Egyptian invasion, the Moschoi, had actually forced its way clean through the heart of the Hittite empire, destroying the capital, Pteria, and settling in the Armenian highlands. Under these severe blows the Hittites withdrew eastwards, and their capital is henceforth Carchemish on the Euphrates. They must have begun by losing their hold on the distant western coast; clearly Smyrna could not be governed from Carchemish; even the Royal Road, the great monument of Hittite rule, would not enable that.

Here, then, was the opportunity for the Achaians to seize the abandoned realm. But they were not the first on the scene. The Lykians were already in

possession of one end of the line, the Dardanians in Troy at the other. It was certain that they would do their best to keep the intruders out and hold to the coasting trade. They must be fought, whether singly or together; and they were both well posted. The advantages which gave the site of Troy its importance need not be repeated here, as I have discussed them at length elsewhere.

The position of Lykia was excellent commercially for a race of middlemen; but the middleman has no monopoly beyond what he can keep by skill or by force. There is no inconsistency between friendly relations towards the Achaians as good customers, so long as they kept to their own sphere, and rigid exclusion of them from the markets of Asia. But the Lykian position was not impregnable. In Minoan times the island of Rhodes had come under the power, or at least the civilization, of Crete, as the remains of Ialysos and Lindos plainly show.

By this road, which the Achaians must have taken over when they obtained possession of Crete, it was possible to approach Miletos along an almost continuous chain of small islands running near the coast; and this was clearly the track by which Mycenaean commerce got a footing on the mainland at Miletos, thus tapping the rich Maeander valley.

Farther north runs the Hermos valley, no less valuable as an access to the mainland. Its natural harbour, Smyrna, is still the chief port of the Aegean, and indeed of the whole Turkish empire. Some 80

miles up the valley lay Sardis, afterwards the Lydian capital, and by repute one of the wealthiest of all the cities of the world in the early days of Hellenic history. And up this valley, if we are to believe Homer, the Achaians had penetrated. No Mycenaean remains, so far as I am aware, have yet been found in it; but I feel confident that they will some day be discovered.

Elsewhere the Homeric traveller knows nothing beyond the ken of the coasting sailor—of rivers he knows only the mouths, of mountains only those which are visible from the sea.¹ The one exception is the Hermos valley. The Trojan Catalogue has nothing to say about it; but from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we can gather how much was familiar. We can trace the names of the stations on the road across the Aegean: Psyrie, the island of Psara, which lies within sight of Euboea; Chios; the promontory of Mimas, which is the landmark for the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna; Sipylos; and then inland to Tmolos, the Hyllos, and the Gygaean lake—we have reached by short and easy stages the neighbourhood of Sardis. The very legends of the district are appropriated by Homer; he speaks of the weeping Niobe of Sipylos, and the nymphs who dance round the streams beneath it, as though they belonged to his own land. The proofs of familiarity are too numerous and precise to leave any doubt; the Hermos valley must have been well known to the Achaians. So I am not

¹ See *Troy*, p. 306.

afraid to prophesy that Mycenaean remains will some day be found there, marking the site of the city which Homer calls Hyde.

It is not necessary, perhaps it is even *a priori* improbable, that the site of Hyde should have been at Sardis itself; Mycenaean sites are not as a rule identical with those of later towns, but were chosen to suit special conditions no longer dominant after the great political and economic changes which followed the passing of the Mycenaean age. Nor need Hyde have been a Mycenaean site at all; all we can say of it is that it was a site of which the Achaians had knowledge; it may have been, most likely was, only a town which they visited as travellers, merchants, or enemies. But of such contact I feel sure there must remain, somewhere in the wide territory of Sardis, if we could only find them, some decisive relics. The progress of the American excavations makes it more and more unlikely that they will be found in Sardis itself; but there is abundant space around where the solution of the problem may be lying hid.

There is yet another link with this district which I have not quoted because it is not Homeric; but it cannot be entirely passed over. Later legend brought the house of Pelops from this region; Pelops himself was made the son of the Phrygian Tantalos. Not only is this connexion ignored in Homer; it is almost decisively negatived. It is ignored in the one passage where Tantalos is mentioned—not in a mere passing

allusion, but in a descriptive episode devoted to him, eleven lines long (*Od.* xi. 582-592). He is there a purely legendary figure, without human kinship of any sort. It is ignored again in the fine and still longer tale of Niobe (*Il.* xxiv. 602-617). And it is almost decisively negatived in the passage called "The Transmission of the Sceptre" (*Il.* ii. 100 ff.). There the descent of the Pelopid family is given, and there is no human parentage for Pelops; he receives the sceptre of kingship over Argos, not from any father Tantalos, but directly at the hand of Hermes himself, the god of the Peloponnese over which he is to rule.

It would be strange if we found the connexion established in Homer, where we are learning to look for a reasonable basis in possible history; for it does not seem likely or reasonable that Pelops, so firmly established in Elis on the west side of Greece, should have come thither from Phrygia in the far east. If the home of Pelops had been at Marathon, or at Thebes, or Epidauros, or Tiryns, the matter would have been different; but nowhere has he any solid footing on the eastern side; he appears suddenly in the far west. This is such a historical improbability as we shall not find at least in that much of Homer where we can look for history—that much of Homer which goes back, to anticipate what we shall have to say later, to the court tradition handed down from the Achaian palaces of the mainland. It is the sort of improbability which characterizes the mythopoeic

faculty of the popular tradition,—the faculty which, regardless of any historical basis, seeks to combine, under the influence of a religious psychology which students of Greek myths are endeavouring to unravel, tales and beliefs originally of the most divergent origin. The emergence of this popular stratum of belief into the decadence of the Epos will be found, I believe, to explain much that is difficult, even in Homer. But for the moment it lies outside my sphere; it is enough to record that the descent of Pelops from Tantalos, fully accepted, of course, by Pindar, has its first literary evidence in a fragment of the *Cypria*, an early instance of the products of this stratum of popular myth-making.¹

But, though we must definitely exclude the Phrygian descent of the Pelopidae from the framework of Homeric history, we must equally accept the belief in it as further evidence of what Homer tells us—that at a very early date the Achaians had entered into close relations with this particular district of Phrygia. That the Pelopidae were well known in the Hermos valley is probable enough; and that would be ample ground for the subsequent myth.

It may further be added that there was a reason why, if their object in penetrating so far inland was commercial, the Achaians should have made their way up to Sardis. For here was the western termination of the Hittite Royal Road, which led directly to

¹ See *Cypria*, frag. xi. in Allen's Oxford *Homer* (vol. v. p. 122). For the worship of Pelops at Olympia and its connexion with the story of Tantalos see Mr. Cornford in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, chap. vi.

the interior. That anything in the nature of through traffic from the farther east came down this way is in the highest degree improbable, indeed impossible; but it was an obvious route for the products of the immediate hinterland, the chief of which was no doubt in early times, as it still is, the wool from the great sheep pastures of the open plateaus of Phrygia. These would add considerably to the natural wealth of the Hermos valley itself, and strengthen the position of Sardis as a great inland market. The Achaians had reason enough to frequent it; it was certainly their best opening in all the coast from Lykia to the Hellespont. But it does not seem likely that they ever had a settlement there till, at the time of the great migrations, the Aeolians made the Hermos their first objective, and founded the oldest recorded colonies on Asiatic soil.

But the attack of the Achaians was made farther north. Why they should have chosen Troy as their first object I have endeavoured to show at length in my *Troy*. The main reason was certainly, as I have there argued, the desire to get control of the Pontic trade. But I think I can add another ground.

The Dardanians who founded the Troy of the Mycenaean age were—and this is hardly questioned now—a branch of the Phrygian stock, who were themselves sharers in the great thrust of the nations from the north. The Phrygian language was closely akin to the Greek, and the two nations had doubtless come down together, or nearly at the same time, from

the Danube valley. The Dardanians had taken the south-eastern road, while the Achaians passed on south-westwards. But the thrust still continued—the pressure of the Achaians themselves towards the Asiatic shores is proof of it. If then they were to win a solid footing in the Hermos valley it was needful that they should secure themselves against further pressure from the north; and for this end it was clearly desirable that they should make themselves masters of the Troad, through which this northern pressure had its path of least resistance. This may well have been a reason, and a valid reason, for the concentration of their efforts upon Troy rather than on Sardis or Lykia.

We know that as a matter of fact the thrust was in the end too strong for them; but at least it did not come through the Troad. It came in the Bithynian invasion across the Bosphorus, which broke up and confused all the Phrygian and Mysian boundaries, and, it would seem, substituted the Lydians for the Maeonians as masters of Sardis. Later on came a still more serious invasion, that of the Cimmerians, but that again took the more easterly course, though one of the tidal waves set up by the great convulsion overwhelmed the Troad in the incursion of the Trarians.¹

But on the whole it would seem that the barrier set up by the Achaian capture of Troy did in effect greatly help to protect the lands to the south from the

¹ *Troy*, pp. 110, 137.

more direct onslaughts from Europe, though it was not able to ward them off effectually. At all events there is no clear evidence of any subsequent migration across the Hellespont, unless the Trarians may have come by that road. On this we are in the dark; but on the whole it seems more probable that they followed the Bithynians across the Bosphorus, for in the days of Thucydides those that remained behind dwelt in the modern Bulgaria, well to the east; the Hellespont was at least not their nearest road.¹

Whether this foresight actually entered into the Achaians' minds, save by some sort of blind instinct, may be doubted; it cannot be proved. But that such unconscious impulses do drive nations to ends beyond their own immediate ken is probable enough. At all events we can see that the Achaians could not have prepared the way better for that occupation of western Asia Minor which was to play so large a part in shaping their destinies than by collecting all their forces for the great effort, the reduction of the strong fort which blocked their path to their New World, the Black Sea.

¹ Thuc. ii. 96.

CHAPTER III

BOEOTIA

IN the forefront of any discussion of the historical value of the Homeric poems must needs stand a full consideration of the two documents in the second book of the *Iliad* which at least ostensibly are historical, if that name is to be given to anything in Homer.

With one of these two Catalogues, that of the Trojans and their allies, I have dealt at length elsewhere.¹ It will be sufficient if I recapitulate briefly the results there established.

The main object of my argument was to show that the Trojan Catalogue was indeed a true record of the peoples of Asia Minor and Thrace as known to the Mycenaean Greeks at the age of the Trojan War; and that the war was itself to be taken as a real historical event, the necessity of which was deducible from the economic position of Achaian Greece.

It was proved that the Trojan Catalogue in all respects conformed to what a list of the lands and peoples concerned should have been at a time when

¹ *Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography*, 1912.

Greece was only beginning to struggle for a footing in Asia. Thrace and Macedonia looked eastwards to Troy, not southwards to Attica. The Bithynians had not yet entered the land afterwards called after them; it was still in possession of the Phrygians, who had not yet been driven up to the highlands of the interior by this great thrust from the north. For the same reason the Lydians have not yet displaced the Maeonians. The two centres of wealth in western Asia Minor are Lykia and Troy; the intermediate coast—still, perhaps, suffering from the exclusiveness of its late masters the Hittites—is of little importance.

No Greek colony in Asia is hinted at. The mention of Miletos, which might have raised a doubt, becomes a new proof of the antiquity of the Catalogue, now that excavation has proved it to have been a seat of Mycenaean culture, or at least trade. The Achaians have some knowledge of the southern shore of the Euxine; but this stops short of the site of Sinope; and of such great colonies as Calchedon and Cyzicus there is no hint. Troy is the centre from which radiate all the lines of communication; and it holds this dominating position because it commands the entrance to the Euxine, which has been from time immemorial the vital point for Greek trade.

In all these respects the Catalogue tells of a state of things which could no longer exist when once the Greek people had mastered the entrance into the Black

Sea ; so long as they held both sides of the Hellespont and Bosporus, Troy was useless, and fell into the state of desolation which, except for sentimental reasons, has been its fate from the opening of the historical period.

Further, it was shown that in all these respects the testimony of the Homeric poems generally was consistent with the Trojan Catalogue and with itself ; and that the picture of the whole war there given was such as might reasonably be inferred from the conditions under which it was undertaken.

The final conclusion, therefore, was that the Trojan War was a historical war, and the Trojan Catalogue a historical document, which, if it did not actually date from the time of the war, was at least founded on a tradition as old as, or very little younger than, that great event in the development of the Greek people—a tradition which, by one means or another, had been held firmly and decisively free from any contamination with the later alterations in the geography and polity of Asia Minor produced on the one side by the Greek migration, on the other by the Bithynian invasion and all its consequences.

Little or no account was taken in this argument of the existence of another Catalogue, that of the Greek ships. It was observed, indeed, that the numbers of the Greek force, as there given, were far greater than could possibly have taken part in any campaign on the Plain of Troy ; but due licence was allowed for patriotic and poetical exaggeration, and I

do not think that there is any need for me to modify what I said in that regard.¹ "The catalogue of the Greek ships," I wrote, "should perhaps be taken rather as an account of Homeric Greece and the relative importance of the states that composed it than as an integral portion of the Trojan tradition, into which indeed it seems to be somewhat violently thrust." I further suggested that the Trojan Catalogue stood in its place from the first and gave rise to the subsequent introduction of the Greek Catalogue; but I did not pursue the subject, which appeared to me separable from the task which I had set myself.

It was, however, obvious that the question would have to be considered, however dangerous the ground might be; and when I wrote those words I certainly felt a strong hope, almost a confidence, that a fresh investigation would show that the Greek Catalogue would prove to be at all events founded on the same veridical tradition as the Trojan. Mr. Allen had arrived at that conclusion; and though I was aware, as I stated in my Preface, that with much of what he had written I could not agree, I hoped at least to find a common ground on which we could meet. Such agreement between the two Catalogues would have afforded a welcome confirmation of what I had said about one of them, and given a roundness and completeness which would have been highly satisfactory to me.

¹ *Troy*, p. 149.

But as soon as the inquiry was seriously started, it became obvious that there was a marked difference between the two—a difference going much deeper than could be accounted for by the obvious fact that the Greek Catalogue was a development where the Trojan Catalogue was only a rudiment, and was therefore the later of the two documents. The difficulties were such that I found it necessary to start afresh, and endeavour to form from Homer outside the Catalogue some independent picture of Achaian Greece. When this result had been obtained, I compared the picture with that presented in the Catalogue; and the result was that, whereas the picture in all the rest of the poem was consistent alike with itself, with geography, and Greek tradition, that of the Catalogue directly contradicted all three. The Greek Catalogue is no part of the genuine tradition of the Trojan War, and arose in an altogether different world of ideas from the Trojan Catalogue. I regret the conclusion; but the grounds for it, as will be seen, are strong enough to compel attention, and personal prepossessions must be neglected in the search for truth.

The general plan to be followed, then, will be to inquire into three of the main kingdoms of the Homeric world—the kingdoms of Peleus, of Odysseus, and Agamemnon—and to seek the Homeric conception of them without reference to the Catalogue. When we come to compare them with the Catalogue we shall find in each case that the same process has

been followed; each of them has been to a greater or less extent broken up, and portions which formed essential constituents of a whole have been cut away, to be given to other chieftains. In some cases these chieftains are heroes of the War of Troy; in others they are representatives of another and older series of legends; sometimes they seem to be introduced from a definite intention to give the whole of Greece, as known in later days, a share in the great national achievement which originally belonged only to a small part of the nation, the dominant Achaian class.

But before we enter on this detailed inquiry it is necessary to consider certain facts which bear on the Catalogue as a whole.

The first of these is that the Catalogue was certainly not composed for its present place in the *Iliad*. The proof of this is familiar, and needs only to be shortly stated. It is curious, to begin with, that the Catalogue, professing to describe the "state" of an army as it enters on a great battle by land, should be in fact a description, not of an army at all, but of a navy. The forces are reckoned by ships, and that at a moment when, as we have just been told, the ships have been drawn up on land for ten years, till the timbers are rotten and the tackling loose (*Il.* ii. 135).

That, however, might pass, on the ground that the navy was, for an overseas expedition, the primary condition. Other evidence is not so easily to be disposed of.

Let us take two passages of the Catalogue—those which refer to the forces of Philoktetes and Protesilaos respectively. The first runs :

And of them that dwelt in Methone and Thaumakie, and possessed Meliboia and rugged Olizon, of these, even seven ships, was Philoktetes leader, the cunning archer ; and in each ship sailed fifty oarsmen skilled to fight amain with the bow.

So far the regular formula of the Catalogue is duly followed. But now comes an addition by which this statement, no longer true, is adapted to the altered circumstances :

But their captain lay enduring sore pain in the island of goodly Lemnos, where the sons of the Achaians left him sick of a grievous wound from a deadly water-snake. There lay he pining ; yet were the Argives soon to bethink themselves beside their ships of king Philoktetes. Yet neither were his men leaderless, only they sorrowed for their leader ; but Medon marshalled them, Oileus' bastard son, whom Rhene bare to Oileus, waster of cities (*Il.* ii. 716-28).

The other passage is very similar ; I shorten it a little :

And of them that possessed Phylake and Pyrasos and Iton and Antron and Pteleos, of all these was warlike Protesilaos leader . . .

—so far is common form ; then comes the addition :

. . . while yet he lived ; but now ere this the black earth held him fast. His wife with marred visage was left alone in Phylake, yea, and his bridal chamber half builded ; for a Dardanian warrior slew him as he leapt from his ship far

first of the Achaians. Yet neither were his men leaderless, though they sorrowed for their leader; for Podarkes marshalled them, own brother of Protesilaos, and younger born than he. Yet did not the host lack a leader, only they yearned for the noble dead. With him followed forty black ships (695-710).

With this last line we have returned to common form.

Now it is obvious at once that a poet setting himself to describe the array of the Achaians as they march against the Trojans in the tenth year of the war would not say "the men of Phylake were led by Protesilaos; but he had been dead for ten years; so they were led by his brother"; or "the leader of the men of Methone was Philoktetes; but he had long been in Lemnos, so they were led by Medon." It is plain that what we have is an account of the host at a time when these two were actually leaders, brought up to a later date. The Catalogue is in fact not a "state of the army" as it marched into battle, but an account of the navy as it mustered at Aulis ten years before. The means by which it is adapted could hardly be more rudimentary—even mechanical. In each case the adaptation is effected by the same formula, "yet neither were his men leaderless, though they yearned for their leader."¹

So obvious is this in fact that it may almost be taken as common ground for unitarians and separatists alike. At all events it is accepted by so good

¹ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἄναρχοι ἔσαν, πόσειν γε μὲν ἀρχόν.

a unitarian as Mr. T. W. Allen, and where he leads no unitarian need hesitate to follow. Mr. Allen writes as follows¹: "The Catalogue, as is plain, represents the original arrangement of the contingents at Aulis, and was taken by Homer from its place and time in saga to his second book and to the Troad."

It is a pleasure to be in agreement with Mr. Allen, and may seem ungrateful to criticize his phrases; but it cannot be said that his words are altogether happy. Andrew Lang protested²: "I do not quite understand how a long passage in hexameters can be taken from 'saga.'" What Mr. Allen really means is that the Catalogue was taken from another poem in hexameters, and incorporated in the *Iliad*, to which it does not properly belong, by the addition of lines plainly showing themselves as a seam in the fabric. On this point he leaves us in no doubt; for in a later essay³ he not only writes: "The Homeric poems were put together, and the Catalogue adapted and rounded off, four centuries before, by Homer"; but he tells us exactly which were the lines in which Homer "added to the information, mainly by what we should call anecdotes."

Let us hope, then, that all critics are in agreement with Mr. Allen and myself in holding that the Catalogue is not by Homer, but has been adapted and rounded off from a poem describing a review of the fleet at Aulis, and so inserted into the *Iliad*. But I

¹ *Classical Quarterly*, iii. (1909), p. 91.

² *The World of Homer*, p. 259.

³ *J.H.S.* xxx. 322; see Appendix, Note B.

cannot refrain from the remark that the work ascribed to "Homer" seems to be exactly that which is usually supposed to be characteristic of the "many-handed, omnipresent and unwearied adapter, call we him diasceuast, harmonist, interpolator, or simply faker."¹ At least I am not aware that any critic has attributed to the diasceuast any behaviour more heinous than that of taking a long passage from another poem, different in time and place, and, by interpolations of his own, adapting it to the *Iliad*. I cannot even see that this "faking" is materially excused by saying that "we should call" the interpolations by the rather odd name of "anecdotes." And to apply the venerable name of Homer to such a faker strikes me as somewhat lacking in respect. My own opinion of Homer is much higher than Mr. Allen's. I cannot believe that the poet who composed the sublimest passages of the *Iliad* would have condescended to the mere hack-work of adapting and rounding off the Catalogue for insertion by such mechanical additions as are employed in fact. However, on the main point I am here at one with Mr. Allen; and throughout the rest of this book I shall use the terms "Homer" and "Catalogue" as opposed. By "Homer" I shall mean—with one or two exceptions presently to be noted—the whole of Homer outside the Catalogue; and by "Catalogue" I shall mean the Greek Catalogue only, including the Trojan under the general name of "Homer."

¹ I again quote Mr. Allen; *C.R.* xx. p. 193.

In thus treating Homer — Homer outside the Catalogue—as a unity there are obvious risks. To begin with, it is clear that if Mr. Allen's Homer had no objection to faking on a large scale on one occasion, he may have faked on others also, and with more success in blinding us (including Mr. Allen) to what he was doing. And in particular the “adapting and rounding off” by which the Catalogue was admittedly introduced into the *Iliad* may have been carried beyond the immediate surroundings of the Catalogue itself. It may be that, having introduced leaders into the *Iliad* who properly belonged only to the poem of the Assembling of the Fleet, “Homer” may have thought it proper to dispose of them afterwards, so as to bring the *Iliad* into closer harmony with the Catalogue. If that is the case, it will be clear that these additions must be reckoned to the Catalogue and not to Homer; and if I can shew good grounds for my belief, I shall be justified in excluding them from Homer, in the sense in which I am using the name. If, for instance, I can trace all mention of the Boeotians either to the Catalogue or to passages springing from it, I shall be entitled to say that the Boeotians do not appear in Homer.

There is one other passage to which it is necessary to call particular attention. It occurs near the end of Book xiii. (685-722). It may be described as an embryo Catalogue of some of the subordinate forces, and is remarkable, among other things, for the use of

the name "Ionians," Ἴόνες ἑλκεχίτωνες. All our other evidence goes to shew that this name, elsewhere absolutely unknown to Homer, came into use only at the time of the great migrations. This passage must also have been taken out of its place in "saga," and introduced into the *Iliad* like the larger Catalogue, which in one or two points it flatly contradicts. It is therefore of great importance as showing that there was no single tradition on which the Catalogue was based. We have evidence of two versions, and for all we can tell there may have been more. It will be convenient to have a name by which to refer to this passage; and, as the ancient Greeks used to speak of the Catalogue of the Greek ships by the name of the Boeotia, on account of the prominence of the Boeotians in it, so I propose to speak of this little Catalogue by the name of the "Ionia." It will of course not be included under "Homer" in the sense in which I use the word.

Subject, then, to these restrictions, we will provisionally at least regard Homer as a unity, making no distinction between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. We must be content now to postpone indefinitely the inquiry as to the real foundation for this unity, premising only here that it does not necessarily involve any admission or assumption as to whether the Homeric poems are the work of one man or more. But it will appear at all events that the divergence between the Catalogue and Homer is greater than that, for instance, between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

My endeavour is in fact to attack the Homeric question much as the mathematician attacks one of the most troublesome and complex problems which have ever been submitted to analysis—that of the orbit of the moon. He starts with the assumption, though he knows it to be incorrect, that the moon revolves round the earth in an exact ellipse, and then proceeds to examine in order of magnitude the disturbing forces, the attraction of the sun, the planets, and so on down to the friction of the tides, and applies his results in succession to correct step by step his first assumption. Similarly I propose to start with the assumption that the Homeric poems are all a single unit, though I have no doubt that the assumption is incorrect, in the hope of discovering the disturbing forces; and the succeeding chapters will be devoted mainly to the detection of one disturbing force which seems to me to be of the first order of magnitude. For the present all other disturbing elements will be left out of sight, to be considered elsewhere.

So far of course nothing has been said against the historical value of the Catalogue; we have only established that it comes from an outside source, and incidentally have noted that there was in existence a different tradition. It may be quite possible that “Homer” introduced it because it was reckoned as historical from early days; and it would not be unreasonable to argue that the meticulous care with which the old wording is preserved, so minutely as

to produce the effect of mere clumsiness in composition, is in itself evidence of respect for a document so venerable that its very words could not be touched. That possibility can only be rebutted by adequate testimony; but we have not to search far before we find testimony of a nature to cause us serious doubt.

In the famous sketch of early Greek history with which Thucydides introduces his great work he writes (i. 12):

The Trojan War was followed by disturbance and resettlement, so that Hellas had no rest for growth. The return of the Greeks from Troy took so long that it gave occasion to many revolutions, and civil struggles were general, ending in wholesale expulsions and the establishment of the new states. Thus, in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, the Boeotians were expelled from Arne by the Thessalians, and settled in the land which is now called Boeotia, its older name having been Kadmeis—though there must have been a detachment of them in the land before to join in the expedition to Troy—and in the eightieth year the Dorians, with the help of the Herakleids, occupied the Peloponnese.¹

Now to those for whom the Trojan War is mere legend or distorted memory, whether of battles waged

¹ ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶ κατωικίζετο, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχέσασα αὖτις θῆναι. ἡ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον. Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ὥικισαν—ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν—Δωριᾶς τε ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει πρὸς Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον.

between Thessalian tribes or of struggles between Greek colonists in Asia Minor—to such persons Thucydides' words merely prove his easy credulity. If there was no real fall of Troy, then it is fatuous to take it for the epoch from which other dates are reckoned, some of which at least belong to real events; for few, I suppose, would doubt the reality of the Dorian invasion.¹

But if once we admit the historical reality of the war, the whole question assumes an entirely different aspect. We not only have to recognize that Greek tradition at least contains historical elements; but we can see why it was that the Fall of Troy was adopted as an epoch of the first importance. It was the date which marked the great expansion of Greece beyond its own narrow limits; it was an effort of united Greece against a foreign foe, the more memorable because it was never repeated, at least till the days of Alexander. It was, moreover, to all appearance the final effort which exhausted the Achaian dynasty, and opened the doors to the inrush of a new era. It was an event which failed in none of the circumstance and quality which would impress it indelibly on the national imagination. When, therefore, Greek tradition said that a certain revolutionary invasion took place after and not before the Fall of Troy, we have to deal with a definite statement which demands high, though of course not uncritical, respect.

¹ For the sense in which I use this name see Appendix, Note C.

It is a statement, moreover, which has in its favour a high degree of intrinsic probability. That the Dorian invasion took place after the Trojan War may, I trust, be taken as common ground. But that was evidently part of a larger thrust from the north; and it is only in keeping with all that we know of such thrusts that there should have been more than a single wave. The "Dorians" are said to have taken the more westerly course to the Peloponnese; it is only to be expected that a similar surge should have set along the east of Greece, overwhelming Thessaly and driving some of its inhabitants along the straight course which would take them direct to Boeotia.

We shall of course not lay any stress on the numbers given, sixty or eighty years after the fall of Troy. We shall admit that, at least in the absence of any evidence for a calendar such as a temple record, numbers may easily be changed as they are handed down from generation to generation—that there will be a tendency to foreshorten, to make great events follow one on the other more quickly than in reality. But that the sequence was preserved by tradition—that the Boeotian migration did not precede but followed the Trojan War—that at least is highly probable. It is the more probable for two reasons. In the first place it seemed to exclude the Boeotians from a share in a great national achievement, and therefore was not likely to rest on any fictions of tribal conceit; and in the second place it ran right athwart other theories held by

historians, so that it is not likely to be the product of the theorizer in his study. The date assigned by tradition to the Boeotian migration is treated by them as an awkward fact, which cannot be disputed, and must be reconciled with other theories by hook or by crook.

The evidence of Thucydides, weighty enough in itself, is made infinitely stronger by his sense of the difficulty and the way in which he endeavours to meet it. If the Boeotians only reached their land sixty years after the Fall of Troy, how comes it that they are already there in the Catalogue, not only in full possession of Boeotia (with the exception of Orchomenos), but holding the most prominent place in the whole array, bringing to the Greek army one of its largest contingents, and outnumbering the entire force of Achilles by more than two to one, by 6000 men against 2500? ¹

His answer to this difficulty is very curious. It is given in an awkward and almost shame-faced parenthesis; "there was," he says, "a detachment, an ἀποδαμῶς, of Boeotians already in possession, to send the contingent to Troy." Can he have meant this seriously? Or was he not making a concession to the patriotic feeling of his countrymen, a feeling which he dared not flout? Was he not giving a hint of his real opinion, φωνᾶντα συνέτοϊσιν, under the pretence of an explanation which so obviously explained nothing?

¹ Compare *Il.* ii. 509-510 with xvi. 168-170.

The Catalogue was to Athens an important but not undisputed national title-deed; on it they had based and enforced their claim to the island of Salamis against Megara. One can imagine the howl that would have gone up from the "patriots" if Thucydides had said boldly: "The Boeotians were not in Boeotia at the time of the Trojan War; therefore the Catalogue is not a historical document." He would be told that he was a "Megarian," and accused of wishing to surrender Salamis to the old enemy. When he states as an undoubted fact that the Boeotians came sixty years after the war, and adds in a parenthesis "but there must have been a detachment of them there before," can we not almost hear the sarcastic aside, the *eppur si muove*?

It is indeed hardly possible to suppose that so acute a mind did not see the obvious retort: "But Homer gives a Catalogue of the tribes of Thessaly; if, as you say, the mass of the Boeotians were in Thessaly at the time of the war, why are they not mentioned there?" Does not the sentence about the ἀποδαμνός actually suggest the question to any one who thinks twice about the matter? And, as if to clinch it, he carefully points out that the Thessalian home of the Boeotians was at Arne. Yet the Catalogue knows of no Arne in Thessaly; it mentions one in Boeotia indeed, but if Thucydides is serious, that is all the worse for him. The Boeotians must have moved bodily south if they have not only, after the fashion of emigrants, carried the old name

with them, but left no one in the old home to preserve it on the spot to which it rightfully belonged.

That the Catalogue should not mention the Thessalian Arne is natural; for the intention is clear to represent the whole of the Boeotian nation as fully and finally established in the south. But the tradition of the name was never lost in Thessaly. It appears in Hesiod (*Scut. Her.* 381, 475). According to Strabo and Steph. Byz. it was identical with the later Kierion, and there is no ground for doubting the identification. Stephanus quotes a line from an oracle referring to it, which shows that the consciousness of the old connexion with Boeotia survived the Achaian period; the opinion of the god had been taken about it in some way.¹ But this connexion did not suit the Catalogue, so it is passed over in discreet silence.

The half-hearted compromise so timidly put forward by Thucydides did not satisfy later historians—can we be surprised? We hear of another attempt at reconciliation on quite different lines. Strabo reproduces it from Ephoros, and Ephoros, as we should expect, combines it with his pet Pelasgian theories.²

According to Ephoros the Boeotians lived in

¹ Ἄρνη χηρεύουσα μένει Βοιωτίων ἄνδρα. Plutarch (*De def. orac.* 39) also quotes a phrase from the same or another oracle, which unfortunately tells us nothing. I take this opportunity of saying that, after reading Mr. A. W. Gomme's article on "The Ancient Name of Gla" in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, p. 116, I am no longer prepared to maintain the identification of the fortress at Gla with the Boeotian Arne, which I took for granted in *Troy*, p. 87.

² Strabo ix. 2. 3 and 2. 29.

Boeotia under the rule of the Kadmeans till the war of the Epigoni. After this disaster, though the Kadmeans returned for a short time to Thebes, Kadmeans and Boeotians alike were driven away to Arne in Thessaly by Thracians and Pelasgians. They dwelt so long in Arne that Boeotians, Kadmeans, and Arnaeans all amalgamated under the common name of Boeotian, and were called by it when, after the Trojan War,¹ they returned to their old home, and drove out the intruders, the Pelasgians into Attica, the Thracians to Parnassos.

This, then, is the way in which Ephoros seeks to reconcile the presence of the Boeotians in the Catalogue with the legend of their immigration from Thessaly two generations later. He takes them to Arne in the interval only to march them back again. It bears too clearly the stamp of its author to be taken as serious history; but it is at least evidence of the unquestionable authority of the legend which placed the old home at Arne, and of the obstinacy of the tradition which drove historians to such strange devices.²

Let us pause for a moment to see in more detail how Boeotia is treated by Homer—Homer, of course, outside the Catalogue.

¹ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, c. 29, or more definitely ἤδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου περὶ Αὐλίδᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας ὃν ἔστελλον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ Ὀρέστου παῖδες, c. 3. The last passage gives the source of Thucydides' sixty years; the Boeotian immigration is contemporaneous with the emigration led by the sons of Orestes, *i.e.* it is two generations after the Trojan War.

² See Appendix, Note D.

He knows the two towns of Orchomenos and Thebes. Orchomenos is Minyan; its king was once Amphion;¹ it is famous for its revenues.² That is all we hear of it. Thebes, on the other hand, is often named, but always in connexion with legends of the past. Its walls were built by Amphion³ and Zethos. It was the home of Teiresias the seer, whose date is left uncertain. Here Alkmene gave birth to Herakles, and Semele to Dionysos.⁴ It was once ruled by Oidipodes,⁵ who wedded his mother Epikaste.⁶ But by far the most frequent allusions are to the famous expedition against it from Argos in the preceding generation; once we hear of the war of revenge which led to its destruction under the sons of the defeated Argives, among them being Diomedes, still a young man at the time of the war of Troy.⁷ It is chiefly in connexion with Diomedes' father Tydeus, and his dangerous mission on behalf of the Argives into the very stronghold of the enemy, that we hear of the earlier expedition.⁸ The inhabitants are not Boeotians but Kadmeians, **Καδμείοι** or **Καδμείωνες**, while the assailants are Achaians. The distinction is always strictly observed.⁹ With the fall of the town at the hands of the Epigoni its Homeric history

¹ *Od.* xi. 284. I use the Catalogue of the Heroines with great reserve, but it does not on the whole contradict Homer, though its sources are peculiar.

² *Il.* ix. 381.

³ Son of Zeus (*Od.* xi. 262), while Amphion, king of Orchomenos, was son of Iasos. But the recurrence of the name is noteworthy.

⁴ *Il.* xiv. 323 f., xix. 99.

⁵ *Il.* xxiii. 679.

⁶ *Od.* xi. 271.

⁷ *Il.* iv. 406.

⁸ *Il.* iv. 378, v. 804, vi. 222, x. 286, xiv. 114. Cf. *Od.* xv. 247.

⁹ See particularly *Il.* iv. 384-5, v. 803-4, x. 287-8.

comes to an end, and no Theban appears in the Trojan War. This fact is recognized in the Catalogue by a curious device—the omission of the name of Thebes and the invention of a “Sub-Thebes” or “Deputy Thebes,” Ὑποῤῥῆβαι, a place in whose existence no one, I suppose, has ever really believed, at least as a “well-established town,” εὐκτίμενον πολίερον. It is generally taken to mean so much of the lower town of Thebes as may have been left after the citadel of the Kadmeia had been sacked; but the words of the Catalogue are hardly consistent with that theory. Clearly the Cataloguer was only concerned to assert the continuity of the most famous city of his country.

Let us now turn to the part played by the Boeotians in the *Iliad*. Of their five chieftains named in the Catalogue all reappear in the sequel; but three of them come on the stage only to be slain without striking a blow, in scenes of wholesale slaughter—Prothoenor (xiv. 450), Arkesilaos (xv. 329), and Klonios (xv. 340). The other two, Peneleos and Leïtos, do a little better. Leïtos kills a man in vi. 35, and is casually named in xiii. 91. Peneleos kills a man in xvi. 335-341, and has quite an “anecdote” to himself in xiv. 476-505, where he fights creditably over the fallen Promachos, another Boeotian. But he and Leïtos make a most inglorious exit in xvii. 597 ff.; both are wounded helplessly in a panic flight started by Peneleos himself. Of other Boeotians we hear of one only—Oresbios, who also,

like his compatriots, falls without a stroke in another scene of wholesale carnage (v. 703-710). He was, we are told, a man of great wealth, whose home was on the Kephisian Lake; and about him dwelt the Boeotians in their rich domain.

And that, except for the two Catalogues, the *Ionia* and the *Boeotia*, is an end of the Boeotians in Homer. In the *Odyssey* their name never occurs, though the Catalogue of the Heroines in xi. 235 ff. has so many tales which come, in the geographical sense, from Boeotia—the legends of Antiope, Alkmene, Epikaste, Chloris.

This is not proof, but it is surely suspicious. The people who head the Catalogue with the longest list of towns and the biggest ships play this insignificant and almost humiliating part in the sequel; they are packed away, generally to fall ingloriously, in the scenes of slaughter where they will least be noticed. We must at least admit that this treatment is wholly of a piece with what we should expect from the "Homer" who faked the Catalogue into the *Iliad*. He has completed the process of adapting and rounding off by inserting these few "anecdotes" into the body of the *Iliad*, with the same timid and mechanical hand which dealt with the poem of the Review at Aulis.

But we can go a little further yet, and discover at least one more "anecdote" inserted in the course of adaptation. The Boeotia has not only been adapted to its place by disposing in the sequel of the

chieftains whom it has foisted into the Tale; the way has been prepared for it beforehand. A little further back in the same book (ii. 360-368) occurs a passage the oddness of which must strike the most superficial observer.

After the great scene in the assembly, Nestor rises in the council and makes a speech full of good sound courage and directness, rounded off by an effective peroration. On to this is tacked quite irrelevantly the following: "But do thou, my king, take good counsel thyself, and hearken to him who shall give it; the word that I speak, whate'er it be, shall not be cast away. Separate thy warriors by tribes and by clans, Agamemnon, that clan may give aid to clan and tribe to tribe. If thou do thus and the Achaians hearken to thee, then wilt thou know who among thy captains and who of the common sort is a coward, and who too is brave; for they will fight each after their sort."

No one who thinks while he reads can fail to be startled by such advice given in the tenth year of the war. It is surely odd that, not in a moment of defeat, but while the host is actually forming up for an imminent battle, a battle in which success has been divinely, though as it turns out delusively, promised, Nestor should, after nine years of experience in which, so far as we hear, the Greeks have never been defeated, suddenly recommend a complete reorganization of the army from top to bottom. If the advice is not sheer lunacy, it must evidently be

given when the army is being formed in Greece itself. It is, in short, an essential part of the Catalogue, and with it has been "taken from its place and time in saga"; it was originally spoken, not at Troy, but at the gathering at Aulis. When we come to consider the question of tribal relations in Homeric Greece we shall have to return to it.

Nor is it only in this speech of Nestor's that we can see the handiwork of the Cataloguer. Only a little further off, at line 303 of the same book, we find the only intimation in the whole of Homer that the gathering of the ships took place at Aulis. The meeting there is spoken of as a very recent thing, *χειρά τε καὶ πρωίῳ, ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδᾳ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν ἠγερέοντο*, "while the ships were assembling at Aulis, yesterday and the day before." No one has ever given a satisfactory explanation of these words as used in the tenth year of the war, and in a passage which is designed to lay special stress upon the length of the war. "It was a day or two ago when the sooth-sayer told us that the war would last ten years; and already the ten years are drawing near their end"—surely the introduction is strange. But it is quite intelligible if we suppose that the description of the omen at Aulis really belongs to the poem of the gathering of the ships, and has been "inserted by Homer in his second book" with a certain amount of adapting and rounding off, though less than one could have wished.

But if that be so, then there is no word in Homer

to show that the gathering at Aulis belonged to the old tradition; and there are some indications to show that it did not. In one of Odysseus' feigned tales (*Od.* xix. 182 ff.) he tells how he came to reach Crete. A storm drove him thither from Malea "as he was hastening to Troy," *ἰέμενον Τροίηνδε*. On landing in the island he goes at once to ask for his friend Idomeneus; "but it was already ten or eleven days since he had gone off with his ships to Ilios," *οἰχομένῳ σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίειν Ἴλιον εἶκο*. It is clear that the poet who wrote this passage knew nothing of any assembling at Aulis; Odysseus and Idomeneus alike make straight for Troyland from their homes.

And there is good reason why the fleet should not have had any rendezvous at Aulis. A less suitable place could hardly be found. Navigation is difficult, and—which is more important—drinking water scarce nearly all along the Euripos. The channel is exposed to "violent gusts of wind which descend from these mountains (*i.e.* those of Euboea) during north-east and northerly winds,¹ and also the heavy squalls which may blow from the high land on the opposite side of the channel."²

The great difficulty of the channel arises, however, from the narrow and tortuous character of the central portion. This consists of two landlocked bays, divided from each other and from the main Euripos by three straits. The first of these, beginning from the east, is the Burj channel; the second is the

¹ These blow throughout the summer.

² *Med. Pilot*, iv. 131.

Steno; and the third is the Evriipo Strait, at the town of Chalkis. Through these three straits run uncertain and sometimes violent currents in both directions.

Aulis itself lay on the outer and larger of the two basins, called in the *Mediterranean Pilot* "Euripo Outer Port" (p. 72), between the two small coves on its western side, now known as Megalo Vathy and Mikro Vathy. The larger of these, that to the south of the site of Aulis, is clearly that which Strabo regards as the harbour of Aulis proper and as having room for fifty ships; the "great harbour," where he supposes the Greek fleet to have lain, is the Euripo Outer Port itself.¹ This is a fine basin three miles long, and would of course allow ample room for any fleet.

But it is not easy of access on either side. The "narrow and tortuous" Burj channel on the east is some 500 yards across, but the Steno on the west is "half a mile long and in the narrowest place only 114 feet in width."² Hence, "in entering the Burj and Steno channels it is necessary in a sailing vessel to have a fair or leading breeze, or to have recourse to warping. Vessels running up from the south-eastward in summer with the sea-breeze should be prepared to anchor at any moment," as the sea-breeze often fails just here.

¹ εἴτα λιμὴν μέγας, ὃν καλοῦσι βαθεὺν λιμένα· εἶθ' ἡ Αὐλὶς πετρῶδες χωρίον καὶ κώμῃ Ταναγραίων· λιμὴν δ' ἐστὶ πεντήκοντα πλοίοις, ὥστ' εἰκὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ὑπάρχει λιμένι (ix. 2. 8).

² *M.P.* iv. 73.

But the vessel which has safely passed these two bad places is by no means at the end of its difficulties. It finds itself in the Evripo Inner Port, a charming circular basin rather less than a mile in diameter. The exit from it lies through the Euripos proper, where stands the town of Chalkis. This strait is at its narrowest point, where there has generally stood a bridge, only 129 feet wide. It has been of course artificially narrowed for the purpose at this point, but the natural width is little greater, and half a mile farther north it is still only 120 yards.

The difficulty of the passage lies, however, not in the size of the channel but in the violence of the tidal currents which race through it. They are very dependent on the winds, and are to some extent rather "seiches" than regular lunar tides.¹ They occur, however, with some regularity four times in the twenty-four hours, and depend upon the moon. "Except for a few days at neaps, both streams set about 6 hours each way, attaining at springs a velocity of 6 or 7 knots an hour, which gradually decreases to neaps." "With southerly and south-westerly gales the velocity of the tidal stream from south to north is increased to 8 or $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour for the first day of the gale; followed, probably on the second day, by a rush of equal strength to the southward."² It is of course impossible for a sailing vessel to pass such a strait except at slack water; it will be necessary, we are

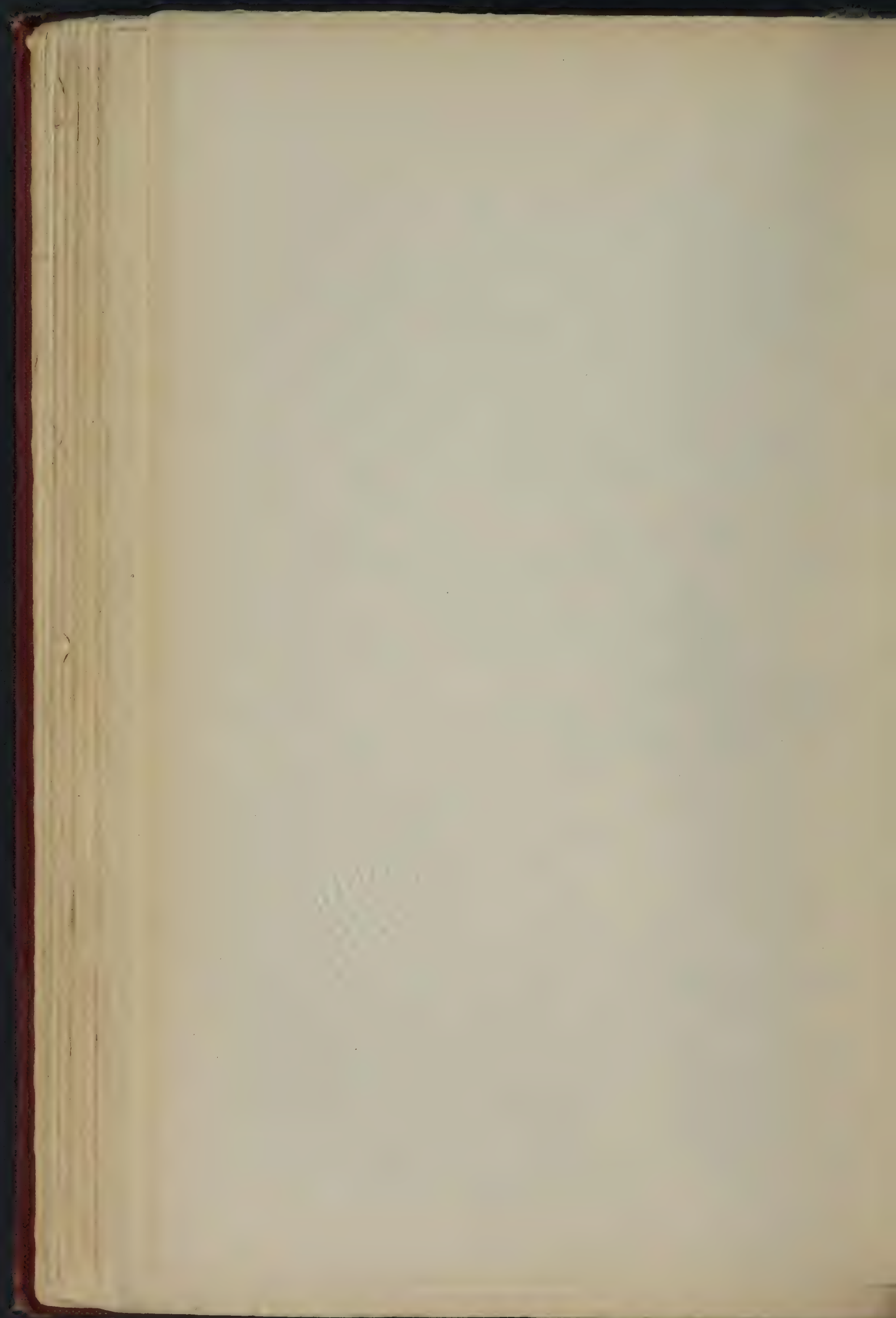
¹ See Neumann-Partsch, *Phys. Geog.* p. 150.

² *M.P.* iv. 75.



Stanford's Geog. Estab^l, London.

London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.



told, for such a vessel "to be under weigh before slack water, which cannot be calculated at times to 15 or 30 minutes, and to be prepared to pass the bridge immediately the flag is shown."¹

To the student in his arm-chair, pondering over a small-scale map, Aulis seems an ideal starting-place for a fleet destined to the north-east. But it is a useful exercise of the imagination to devise a means by which a fleet could first be got into these basins, and then got out again. For the individual vessel an alternating tide is an assistance; and to the work done by its tides the port of London owes a great debt. So perhaps, from the mercantile point of view, may it have been with Chalkis. But it is a different story when we have to deal with a fleet of nearly 1200 ships. A fleet is worthless unless it is kept together, and how is such a fleet to be kept together when each ship has to wait for slack water four times a day to make the passage? No wonder Agamemnon got caught in the trap; the sacrifice of Iphigeneia hardly seems too severe a punishment for his folly in locking up his fleet in so hopeless a limbo. But of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, and of all the tales connected with it, Homer of course knows nothing. He does not deal in these historical improbabilities.

Even if Agamemnon had been so distraught as to bring his fleet into these waters, it is not at Aulis that he would have posted it. Aulis is on the wrong

¹ *M.P.* iv. 75.

side; it has but poor communication inland,¹ and, what is worse, it appears to have no supply of water. In the Outer Port, water is obtained on the north-eastern shore only—plentiful, but not always good for drinking²; in the Inner Port it is “scarce and obtained chiefly from wells,” apparently at Chalkis itself.³ That is why Aulis was always insignificant while Chalkis grew great; the idea that the Boeotians were “masters of the soil and waters” in these parts would surely have raised sarcastic smiles both in Chalkis and Eretria.

On the other hand, a Boeotian poet desiring to give his countrymen the place of honour, and to make his own country the scene of the muster, had no choice; Aulis was the only possible harbour which he could offer. It was no matter to him that an admiral would not spend weeks in bringing his ships into Aulis only to spend at least as many in getting them out again, and all to no purpose. That was not a question of any importance in a day when the sense of the historical realities of the Trojan War had become dimmed in the growing mists of popular mythology.

A practical general, having to deal with an enemy like the Trojans, who seem to have owned no fleet,

¹ On this point I am glad to be able to refer to Mr. Gomme's excellent paper on the “Topography of Boeotia,” *B.S.A.* xviii. 196 ff. An account of Aulis will be found also in Frazer's *Pausanias*, v. 72. I differ from the view there taken as to the harbours; it appears from what he says that the Mikro Vathy is useless as a port. I therefore take Strabo's *Λιμὴν* to be the Megalo Vathy, and his *μέγας λιμὴν* the whole basin of the Outer Port.

² *M.P.* iv. 73.

³ *Ibid.* 74.

would aim at assembling his navy within striking distance of his objective, thus avoiding many risks and multiplying his power. An obvious place for such a rendezvous is Lemnos, with its magnificent harbour. I have elsewhere pointed out¹ that Lemnos was essential as the Achaian base. And in *Il.* viii. 229 ff. we hear of a time when the Achaians were actually stopping in Lemnos, drinking their wine and eating their meat, and boasting of what they were going to achieve against the Trojans. That surely and not Aulis was the rendezvous of the original story. It was to Lemnos and not to Aulis that Odysseus and Idomeneus were sailing—to the harbour in sight of the shore which they were to attack, not to the secluded trap behind Euboea which it was difficult to enter and still more difficult to leave, and in favour of which we are to believe that the ships of Achilles and his people were to desert the splendid shelter of the Pagasaeon bay, sailing directly out of their way, and incurring quite gratuitous difficulties and dangers twice over, first on the journey thither and again on the real start for the war.

Once more, then, we are led to the conclusion that Boeotia and the Boeotians held no such prominent place in the Trojan War as the Catalogue assigns to them. And what is true of the Boeotians is true of other tribes of the Catalogue as well. Some of them do no more than supply their chieftains to fall on the

¹ *Troy*, p. 268.

“grim heaps of slain” in scenes of indiscriminate slaughter. Such are the Abantes and Phokians.¹ It has long been matter of remark that the Athenians play but a humble part in the war compared to the praise bestowed on them in the Catalogue. But others are in a yet worse position; they are numbered in the Catalogue but never appear at all in the army before Troy. Such are the Arcadians, Enienes, Peraiboi and Magnetes—the inland peoples whose presence in a naval expedition seems *a priori* so unlikely—and the folk of the small islands in the east, Kos, Syme, and the rest;² yet these between them number no less than 155 ships, a very large part out of a fleet of less than 1200, and more than twice as many as Aias the Telamonian, Odysseus, and Achilles together!³

Nor does the Catalogue err only by excess; its omissions are no less strange. The following peoples and localities in Greece are known to Homer, but have no place in the Catalogue—The Dolopes, the Kaukones (*Od.* iii. 366), Messene, and all the Messenian towns named in *Il.* ix. 150 ff., Kythera, Delos, Marathon, Phere (or -ai), and others of less importance. And there are yet others which, though they do not happen to be mentioned in Homer, should surely have place in any systematic review of

¹ Compare ii. 540 with iv. 463; ii. 517 with xv. 515, xvii. 306. Of the two Phokian leaders Epistrophos does not reappear; but Schedios seems to be killed twice over, with different paternity, by way of compensation.

² ii. 671-680.

³ Arcadians 60, Enienes and Peraiboi 22, Magnetes 40, Nireus 3, Pheidippos and Antiphos 30; but Odysseus 12, Aias 12, Achilles 50.

Achaean Greece. The Cyclades—that home of ancient culture so closely connected with the mainland—ought they not to find some mention? Mr. Allen is justly surprised at the absence from the long list of towns in the western Peloponnesos of so ancient a site as Phigaleia, and would introduce it by a conjecture, ἄμ Φιγάλειαν for Ἀμφιγένηϊαν,¹ so ingenious that one would willingly accept it if that only were needed to complete the Catalogue. But surely stranger yet is the absence of Eleusis, the seat not only of an ancient worship, but of an ancient kingdom, whose original independence left a memory in Athenian tradition. And what conjecture will restore Eleusis to the Catalogue?

The results of our preliminary inquiry into the Catalogue are then as follows. The Catalogue admittedly does not belong to the *Iliad*, but has been taken from another source, and adapted and rounded off in a somewhat superficial manner. It differs from the *Iliad* both by excess and defect. Tribes and leaders appear in it who are unknown in the rest of Homer, while other tribes and places known to Homer do not appear in the Catalogue. The whole proportion and perspective of the *Iliad* is distorted in the Catalogue; those who in the Catalogue appear with large forces are often in the *Iliad* either absent or wholly insignificant, while some of the most important heroes of the *Iliad* appear in the Catalogue as quite subordinate.

¹ *J.H.S.* xxx. 302.

The Catalogue directly contradicts the persistent and consistent tradition, attested by all the leading authorities, that there were no Boeotians in Boeotia at the time of the Trojan War; and the story of the assemblage at Aulis, on which it is confessedly based, is inconsistent at once with the indications of the *Odyssey* and the geographical and historical probabilities of the war.

It may be well to turn for the sake of comparison and contrast to a passage which serves for Homer the purpose of a Catalogue—the Review of the Troops, the Ἀγαμέμνωνος ἐπιπώλησις, in *Il.* iv. 223-421.

This is treated as a part of the poem; it is composed for its place, and suits the moment which it occupies in the action; it would suit no other. It is evidently no interpolation from an outside source, and requires no “anecdotes” to fit it to its frame. Menelaos is absent—he has just been wounded; Achilles is absent—we know the reason perfectly well. With these exceptions it includes all the great chiefs of the war—Agamemnon himself, Idomeneus, Meriones, the two Aiantes, Nestor, Odysseus, Diomedes. It is thus entirely of a piece with the rest of the *Iliad*. And it is not a mere list of names; it is a piece of drama, and the actors in it play their parts as human beings. Each of them is a distinct personality, not to be confused with any other. Indeed, it might almost be urged against it that the characterization is, if anything, almost overdone—that Agamemnon out-Agamemnons himself,

that Diomedes is almost too modest. But the fault is at all events the fault of a creative poet with a clear artistic aim; it is not the mechanical work of the faker.

There are difficulties in the passage, it is true. One would expect Nestor to have joined with him in command his sons Antilochos and Thrasymedes instead of the insignificant chiefs named in 295-6. And a more serious difficulty is the position given to the Athenians. They certainly hold a position among the select few which is not justified in the sequel; and it is surprising to find them so closely joined with the Kephallenians that the two captains, Menestheus and Odysseus, are addressed in the dual number like the two Aiantes. There is no trace of such a connexion anywhere else; Athenian tradition, to judge from the Tragedians, would certainly not have insisted upon any close friendship between the Ithakan and the Athenian; and the passage must go with others which make the part played in the *Iliad* by the Athenians a puzzle to which the key has not yet been found. But this does not affect the clear fact that the Review is an organic work, not a Catalogue—it is Homeric, not Hesiodic.

We can now proceed to a closer examination of some of the principal kingdoms of the Achaians, as they can be gathered from Homer, and compare them with the same regions as they are presented in the Catalogue.

CHAPTER IV

THE DOMINION OF PELEUS

HOMER is often not explicit as to the homes of his heroes. It is only in a single line that Aias is connected with Salamis, and his namesake the son of Oileus has not even so definite a domicile. It is only from later tradition that we learn that he was a Locrian, and, according to the Catalogue, that he belonged to the northern branch of the tribe, which dwelt over against Euboea (*Il.* ii. 535). The country of the Ozolian branch is left a blank.

In the case of Achilles, however, there is plenty of information; but it has to be pieced together from various passages—it is none the less trustworthy for that reason, for it is throughout consistent with itself.

Achilles is the son of Peleus, who is still alive (*Il.* xxiv. 486, etc.); and when we speak of the home of Achilles we are of course dealing with the kingdom of his father, so that we can use the two terms as interchangeable. And the information which we can collect is as follows.

The dominion of Peleus consists of two parts,

which are carefully distinguished—Phthia and Hellas. The two are not names for the same district, or even for immediately adjacent divisions of it; for when Phoinix flees from the just anger of his father, whom he has irremediably outraged, he escapes from Hellas to Phthia, where he is out of the reach of family vengeance (*Il.* ix. 478-480); “I fled,” he says, “through the length of Hellas till I reached Phthia,”

φεῦγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο,
 Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα.

But when Achilles has occasion to speak of his father's realm as a whole, he includes both parts of it. When he sternly refuses the offer of one of Agamemnon's daughters for a wife, he says “there are many Achaian maidens throughout Hellas and Phthia, daughters of princes that ward their cities” (*Il.* ix. 395-6). And his folk, the Myrmidons, dwelt not only in Phthia but in Hellas as well; for in the fight over the body of Sarpedon there is slain “Bathykles, the dear son of Chalkon, that dwelt in his home in Hellas, and for wealth and riches was pre-eminent amid the Myrmidons” (xvi. 594-5). So too in the *Odyssey* (xi. 496) the whole kingdom of Peleus is described as Hellas and Phthia. The shade of Achilles asks after his father: “is he yet held in worship among the Myrmidons, or do they dishonour him throughout Hellas and Phthia?”

Of the two portions, however, Phthia is clearly the more important, and when a single name is used for the realm it is always Phthia. Achilles says that

he has no personal grudge against the Trojans, for "never did they harry mine oxen nor my horses, nor ever waste my harvest in deep-soiled Phthia" (*Il.* i. 155). It is from Phthia that Peleus sent him to the war (*ix.* 253, 439), and here he still dwells (*xvi.* 13, *xix.* 323). In fact it is in Phthia in the narrower sense, not, that is to say, in Hellas, that Peleus was dwelling when Phoinix fled from Hellas; for he came "to Phthia to king Peleus" (*ix.* 480). It is to Phthia that Achilles threatens to return from Troy (*i.* 169, *ix.* 363). The Myrmidons had a home not only in Hellas but in Phthia (*xix.* 299). Phthia was clearly, therefore, the main part of the kingdom and the natural seat of government.

Where Phthia was we cannot doubt. The name was always attached, either unchanged or in the derivative form of Phthiotis, to the district which stretched along the shore from the northern slopes of Othrys to the very head of the Pagasaeon Gulf. The principal town in early days seems to have been the Phthiotian Thebes, almost at the centre, though Larisa "Kremaste" might raise a rival claim—the name savours of antiquity. The natural frontier towards the Thessalian plain seems to have been a range of hills which runs about W.S.W., in a nearly straight line, from just south of Pherai to Thaumakoi, the modern Domoko.¹ The actual watershed lies

¹ Cf. "Den süd-östlichen Theil der Landschaft, die Nachbarschaft des pagasäischen Golfes, sondern die vom Westende des Othrys nordöstlich zum Pelion hinüber streichenden chassidiarischen und ziragiotischen Berge recht bestimmt von dem übrigen Thessalien" (Neumann-Partsch, p. 156).

indeed considerably to the southwards of this line; but natural—in other words, defensible—frontiers do not always follow the watershed. The point is not a vital one, and could only be decided on the spot by a competent geographer and geologist; I can do no more than conjecture from the general aspect of the map.¹

By whichever line should prove to be the real boundary, Phthiotis is geographically distinct from Thessaly, and was not included in it in classical times. Herodotos tells how the Greeks, on the approach of Xerxes, first decided to defend the northern frontier of Thessaly, and actually sent a force which “landed at Alos in Achaia and marched into Thessaly,” ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἐς Ἄλον, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην (vii. 173). So at a still later date the inhabitants of this region, though subject to the Thessalians, are still sharply distinguished from them; Ἅγις ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς Φειώτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ Θεσσαλῶν ὑπηκόους . . . ὁμήρους ἠνάγκασε δοῦναι, κτλ., Thuc. viii. 3. And the frontier of Phthia seems to have been not merely a geographical and political, but, for our purpose yet more signifi-

¹ The range of hills is broken through E. of Pharsalus by the main stream of the Enipeus, which thus rises in Othrys near Melitaia. But the configuration of the country strongly suggests that the river which rises here originally flowed into the Gulf of Volo, and has been “captured” by an affluent of the Enipeus, eating its way by erosion through the hills, and draining this valley northwards into the Enipeus basin. This phenomenon is of course familiar; it has worked on an enormous scale in the Andes, and the consequent divergence between the watershed and the natural frontier—in this case the main chain of the Andes—gave rise to grave international trouble between Chile and Argentina.

Kiepert in his *Formae Orbis Ant.* marks the frontier of Phthiotis as running along the “natural” line, not as following the watershed.

cantly, an archaeological boundary. The researches of Messrs. Wace and Thompson show that the Minoan culture reached thus far north to Volo, but extended into central Thessaly only feebly and in its latest stage.

With Phthia thus clearly fixed, we can have no doubt where to look for the other part of Peleus' realm, Hellas. For, though Phthia is politically the most important part of the realm, it is not the ancestral family seat. That as usual is defined by a river; and the family River of Peleus is the Spercheios, which is not in Phthia at all. Peleus is a new-comer, and cannot indeed claim descent from the Spercheios; but the position of the parvenu has been duly recognized; the River has married into his family, taking for his bride Achilles' sister Polydore, and becoming by her father of Menesthios, who follows his uncle to the war (*Il.* xvi. 176). And the relation of the River to the family and its rites is yet more clearly shown in the pathetic passage where Achilles, knowing that he will never return home, gives to the pyre of Patroklos the lock of hair which had been duly dedicated to Spercheios.

He shore off a golden lock, the lock whose growth he nursed to offer to the River Spercheios, and sore troubled spake he, looking forth over the wine-dark sea: "Spercheios, in other wise vowed my father Peleus unto thee that I returning to my native land should shear my hair for thee and offer a holy hecatomb, and fifty rams should sacrifice there above thy springs, where is thy sacred close and altar

burning spice. So vowed the old man, but thou hast not accomplished him his desire. And now, since I return not to my dear native land, unto the hero Patroklos may I give this hair to take away" (*Il.* xxiii. 141-151).

That the Spercheios valley is indeed to be identified with Hellas we may assure ourselves by a curious relic surviving in popular tradition from primitive times. The modern name of the Spercheios is in the vernacular Ellada; and though the Greek schoolmaster has done his best to eradicate this invaluable survival, and to teach the peasantry to speak only of Spercheios, it is satisfactory to know, on the unimpeachable authority of Mr. Wace, that his "patriotic" efforts have not wholly succeeded in their task, and that popular memory still retains this record of Homeric times.

We can thus, with the aid of Achilles' prayer to the Zeus of Dodona,¹ trace the progress of his band, from the heart of Epeiros, over the passes of Tymphrestos to the Spercheios valley, and then by subsequent conquest to the very head of the Pagasaeon Gulf.

That the dominions of Peleus reached to Iolkos is clear enough. It is recorded ineffaceably in the name of Mount Pelion, and in all the stories which linked that mountain to his family. Here took place the famous marriage to Thetis. And though Homer, who knows of the marriage and how all the gods took part in it (*Il.* xxiv. 62), does not name Pelion as the scene, yet the Pelian spear which Cheiron

¹ Cf. *Troy*, p. 345.

gave Peleus, of course in token of vassalage, appears again and again¹ as an indisputable article of his tradition; and he knows, moreover, that Achilles was sent up the hill to Cheiron to learn the secrets of the forest.² The Achilles who was educated on Pelion of course had his home at its foot, and not far away at the head of the Malian Gulf.

What the southern limit of Peleus' kingdom may have been is left to conjecture; we can only guess that it must have been formed by the range of Oeta. Homer does not mention, I believe, any local name between the Spercheios on the north and the line of Parnassos, Orchomenos and Opus on the south; we are left to the Catalogue for the first mention of the Locrians. But there is certainly no reason to imagine that Peleus held anything south of Oeta. The author of the *Doloneia*, it is true, mentions, quite incidentally and without any connexion, an Amyntor son of Ormenos as living at Eleon—and the only Eleon we know is in Boeotia—while Amyntor son of Ormenos is also father of Phoinix and lives in Hellas.³

No one, I think, has ventured to take this as serious evidence, and draw the conclusion that the Hellas over which Peleus ruled included a Boeotian town to the east of Thebes, and near the Attic frontier. Such a view would contradict both Homer and the Catalogue, to say nothing of the unanimous tradition of Greece. Nor is there any better ground

¹ *Il.* xvi. 143, xix. 390, xx. 277, xxi. 162, xxii. 133.

² *Il.* xi. 832. Cheiron also gave Asklepios healing herbs, *Il.* iv. 219.

³ *Il.* x. 266, ix. 448.

for the view, slightly less extravagant in itself, that the Hellenic name, if not the kingdom of Peleus, had extended at this time to the south-eastern corner of Boeotia; that again is contradicted by Homer and the Catalogue, which agree in knowing nothing of Hellenes outside the sway of Peleus. There is nothing to show that the author of the *Doloneia* did more than take the first name that came to hand for a piquant anecdote; if he thought of Amyntor as a Hellene at all, he conceals the fact.

We have, however, material for determining the limits of Hellas on the north. Here the Spercheios valley is bounded by a wide plateau, containing the basin of a lake known in ancient times as Xynias. Across this plateau goes the main road into Thessaly by land from the south, from Lamia by the pass of Furka to Thaumakoi, whence there is a steep descent to the great Thessalian plain. Invaders who have entered the Spercheios valley from the west must win and keep command of this plateau, and for this purpose must control the northern edge of it. And this, as we can see, Peleus did.

We have already traced the flight of Phoinix from his father's home in Hellas to the court of Peleus in Phthia. "Peleus," as Phoinix goes on to tell, "received me kindly, and entreated me as though I had been his own son; he gave me riches, and put many folk under me, and I dwelt in the outskirts of Phthia, ruling the Dolopes" (*Il.* ix. 480-484). Now the home of the Dolopes was where

the plateau guarding the approach to Malis from the north merges into the mass of Pindos. It is perhaps the most inaccessible and remote spot in the whole Greek peninsula,¹ yet a necessary outpost for Peleus. Warlike hill-tribes lying beside the pass must have been a standing menace to the valley of Malis. To command this road and defend it from raids, Phoinix is sent with a strong force, "many folk." The natural stronghold on the passage, as I gather from descriptions, is Thaumakoi, still called Domoko, which occupies a lofty pinnacle, crowned by a castle, beside the defile through which the road from the north climbs the hills. Here we may fancy the young fugitive proving his mettle and his gratitude in the defence of his own home, at a safe distance from his father's anger.

The other weak point in the northern frontier of Phthia is at the north-east extremity, where a low pass leads from the head of the gulf by Pherai to the lands near the Boibean lake. The chief who held Iolkos by right of conquest must hold at least Pherai on the farther side, to defend the passage against attack from the north. And that Pherai was in fact within the dominion of Peleus seems to be proved in a curiously indirect way.

Hector, in his exquisite parting words to Andromache (*Il.* vi. 456 ff.), foresees her sad fate

¹ "Das Land ist die abgelegenste, unfruchtbarste und unwegsamste Gegend von ganz Griechenland, daher stets ein Gebiet freier, kriegerischer, aber armer und roher Hirtenstämme geblieben" (Philippson in Pauly-Wiss., s.v. "Dolopia").

after the destined fall of Troy: "Then must thou dwell in Argos and ply the loom at another woman's bidding, and draw the water of Fount Messeis or Hypereia." The ancient commentators were right in seeing in these words some definite local allusion. Messeis, they thought, was in Lakonia, Hypereia in Thessaly, so that Hector's words meant "thou wilt be the slave of Menelaos or Achilles." As to Messeis all tradition had been lost and they were reduced to guessing. But it is evident, and for our purpose sufficient, that both names were in early legend so well known that they carried with them as clear and definite a sense as did in later times Castalia or Peirene.

But Hypereia has left other traces in literature. Pindar tells us in a famous passage of the arrival of Iason at Iolkos. As soon as the news spread, his uncles came to see him, "Pheres leaving Fount Hypereis near at hand," *ἐγγὺς μὲν Φέρης κράναν Ὑπερῆϊδα λιπών* (*P.* iv. 125). The name of Hypereis is as significant for Pindar as for Homer; clearly it played some important part in an episode of the Argonautic legend now lost for ever. And it is also at the home of Pheres, in other words at Pherai. In order that there may be no possible doubt on this point, the scholiast on Pindar clinches the matter by quoting two lines from an unnamed play of Sophokles (the *Eumelus*?):

ὦ γῆ Φεραία χαῖρε, σύγγονόν ε' ὕδωρ,
Ὑπέρεϊα κρήνη, νᾶμα θεοφιλέστατον.

And here in fact tradition placed it; Strabo does quite right to accept the local legend here, on the supreme authority of Pindar and Sophokles, and to reject summarily the rival claims of the town of Pharsalos, though he is well aware, as we shall see, of the difficulty in which he is placed by his scrupulous adherence to the best evidence. At the modern Velestino is still to be seen this spring, the ancient Hypereia; it "rises in front of a mosque in the midst of the town, and falls into a large basin, still covered with marble slabs" (Baedeker's *Greece*).

The argument, then, seems to be complete. Homer knows of a fountain Hypereia the locality of which is conveyed to his hearers by the mere name. Pindar and Sophokles know it too and tell us further that it was at Pherai—there cannot be two of the name when the name means so much. Therefore Hector contemplates that Andromache will be carried off to Pherai. The last step, that Pherai was in the realm of Achilles, that is to say of Peleus, hardly seems disputable.

This, then, is Homer's picture of the realm of Peleus. It stretches from the head-waters of the Spercheios the whole way to Iolkos, Pherai and Pelion; it is bounded on the south by Oeta and the sea, on the north by a continuous line of mountains, overhanging the central plains of Thessaly. By land Othrys divides it, somewhat awkwardly, into two distinct parts; but it is more compact than may

appear at first sight. For all of it is easily accessible from the coast, and the whole coast is linked by the sheltered waters of an inland sea. In such a case communication by water is as safe and regular, and more rapid and convenient, than by land.

It is the extreme outpost of Achaian power to the north. Beyond it, in Thessaly proper, we know only of the Lapiths, who are of course no Achaians. We hear of the old tales of a bygone age, when the Lapiths fought with the rude tribe of the Pheres; they are the relics of a day when men were stronger and braver than in the modern times of the Trojan War (*Il.* i. 263-268; cf. *Od.* xxi. 295 ff.). It is not to be expected that inland tribes like those of Thessaly, wholly cut off from the sea by the high range of Ossa and Pelion, backed by an iron-bound and harbourless coast, should have taken part in a maritime expedition like that to Troy; and it has often been noticed that the historic doubt, "where did they get their ships?" is even more pertinent in their case than in that of the Arcadians. When, therefore, we find two Lapiths making a passing appearance in the Achaian army before Troy (*Il.* xii. 127-136, 181-194, xxiii. 836-849), we cannot but wonder if this is not another "anecdote" introduced in the process of adapting and rounding off the Catalogue when it was taken into the *Iliad*.

We can now turn to this domain of Peleus as it appears in the Catalogue. Here it is no longer a whole; it is divided up into four or five parcels, for

which we may use the convenient name of "baronies" employed by Mr. Allen and others.

They are apportioned as follows:—

Achilles, with 50 ships, has three towns, Alos or Halos, Alope and Trachis. He also has the inhabitants of Phthia and Hellas, who are called Myrmidons and Hellenes and Achaïans.

Protesilaos with 40 ships has the men of Phylake, Pyrasos, Iton, Antron, and Pteleos. That is, he had them at Aulis, but as he was the first man to be killed at the landing in Troyland, his forces are now commanded by his brother Podarkes.

Eumelos, son of Admetos and Alkestis, has Pherai, Boibe, Glaphyrai and Iolkos; his ships are only 11.

Philoktetes, with 7 ships, has Methone, Thaumakie, Meliboia and Olizon. Here again the statement has to be corrected; Philoktetes has been left in Lemnos, suffering from the snake-wound, and his men are led by Medon, bastard son of Oileus.

It is generally considered that two of the places apportioned later on to Eurypylos, Ormenion and the fountain Hypereia, lay in this district too; but as that is a disputed point, we can consider it separately.

We begin, then, with the realm of Achilles. It is very different from that attributed by Homer to Peleus. Achilles is indeed so far *primus inter pares* as to have 50 ships against the 40 of Protesilaos; but he is badly treated in the matter of towns, having only three against the four or five of his rivals. One

of them, Trachis, is of course in the Spercheios valley and properly belongs to Achilles, and with it go the Hellenes. Of the other two, Alope is on the narrow fringe of shore which skirts the south of Othrys; the other, Alos or Halos, lies on the western side of the Gulf of Pagasai.

There were, it is true, other towns which claimed to be the Alope and Halos of the Catalogue; there were an Alope and a Halai in Locris, on the opposite shore of the Maliac Gulf. This caused some doubt in antiquity;¹ but the Locrian sites cannot be seriously supported.² Alope was at no time of importance, but Halos was at the time of the Persian war one of the chief ports of Thessaly.³ Its site is well known, and has been investigated recently by Messrs. Wace and Thompson.⁴ The conclusion which they draw from the tumulus which they excavated is that it is post-Homeric, and no Mycenaean remains seem to have been discovered on the site. The Catalogue here lacks any support from archaeology.

The barony thus assigned to Achilles is not only sadly shrunken, but very awkward. For Halos is entirely surrounded by the barony of Protesilaos, who has Pyrasos, Phylake and Iton to the north, north-west and west, while Antron and Pteleos lie on the coast to the south, thus cutting off Halos from all communication with Alope and Trachis except by sea. Mr. Allen thinks that "such an enclave cannot be

¹ Strabo ix. 4. 2-3; 5. 8.

³ Herod. vii. 173.

² Allen in *C.R.* xx. 196.

⁴ *B.S.A.* xviii. 1 ff.

imagined"; but we shall find that we have to imagine much stranger things before we have done with the Catalogue. And if we follow Mr. Allen in inventing another Halos nearer Malis, and otherwise unknown, we have only succeeded in cutting Achilles off entirely from his one footing in Phthia, the realm which is said to be his. In any case he is irrevocably separated from Pelion, his family mountain and the scene of his education by Cheiron.

The barony of Protesilaos includes, as we have seen, the whole heart of Phthia, with its one rich plain, the Campus Crocius. The selection of towns is curious; we should have expected some mention at least of the Phthiotian Thebes, which seems to be the natural stronghold and capital of the district, and in later times at least was the most important town.¹ The name too, like that of Larissa Kremaste farther south, conveys the idea of venerable antiquity, and the omission of it may almost be reckoned among the curious oversights which are characteristic of the Catalogue.²

The Catalogue gives Protesilaos 40 ships; but Homer knows of one only. "The" ship of Protesilaos is indeed the central point of the fighting at a most critical moment (*Il.* xv. 704-746, xvi. 286); but it is isolated. There are none of Protesilaos' men to help to defend it. His brother Podarkes, to whom the Catalogue commits his troops, never appears on the

¹ "Thebas Phthias unum maritimum emporium fuisse quondam Thessalis quaestuosum et frugiferum" (Livy xxxix. 25).

² See Chap. III.

scene at all, either to defend his own ship or to take any part in the battles, save for a passing mention in the *Ionia* (*Il.* xiii. 693), where he commands the Phthians, a name unknown elsewhere to Homer, who ascribes their land Phthia to Achilles.

That Protesilaos belongs to the original Tale of Troy, which kept his name as that of the first man to fall when the Greeks were making good their landing, cannot be doubted. But there, it would seem, his part ended. The mention of his home at Phylake in the Catalogue, and of the pathetic desolation of his young wife, was made the base for a whole cycle of romantic stories of which Homer knows nothing. As his one ship was drawn up, not beside those of Achilles, but with the Telamonian Aias, it is at least doubtful if the original legend connected him with Phylake at all.

The only one of the partners in the division into baronies who receives a really compact and reasonable share is Eumelos. He is the representative of the old Minyan monarchy of Iolkos and Pherai, and keeps their traditional possessions. One would welcome into the Trojan legend the son of Alkestis, so familiar and so lovable a figure is she. But Eumelos never makes his footing good. In the fighting he is never so much as named; his one achievement in the whole *Iliad* is to lose a horse-race, though, as becomes a king from Thessaly, he has the best team.¹ One is

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 391 ff. Hardly enough, surely, to constitute him "an important second-class hero" (*J.H.S.* xxx. 310). He is named once in the *Odyssey* (iv. 798) as having wedded the sister of Penelope.

almost inclined to say that the heir to the realm of the famous Minyans is dragged in the triumph of the Achaians who have taken his heritage from him.

We now pass to the barony of Philoktetes; and here strange things await us. The sites of all his towns are known. Methone lay on the E. shore of the Pagasaeon Gulf, only ten miles from Iolkos—almost inconveniently near. To the south, on the toe of the long Magnesian peninsula, is Olizon, and this is accessible enough either by land or sea. But Meliboia is not only thirty miles in a straight line from Methone; it is completely cut off from it by the whole barony of Eumelos. Philoktetes can only have reached it from Methone by passing through the land of Iolkos, Pherai, Glaphyrai and the Boibean lake, or else by a voyage of more than double the distance, round Magnesia and past the dreaded and exposed cliffs of Pelion. He would find no harbour at Meliboia when he got there; only a beach for the fishing-boats which carried on, at least, in later days, the hunt for the murex. Communications must have been very precarious at the best.

This is an enclave which is even more isolated than Achilles' Halos, where the distance is not great, and the waters are sheltered and safe. But what are we to say about Thaumakie—the town or district of Thaumakoi? We have seen where this was, at the point where the traveller from Malis to Thessaly leaves the highland plateau of Xynias to descend into

the plain, and gets the "marvellous view" from which the ancients derived the name of the hill fortress. When Philoktetes desires to go there from Methone, he has to obtain the permission not only of Eumelos but of Protesilaos, for a journey of not less than forty-five miles. His barony must have been a difficult one to administer. It is in fact absolutely incredible as a real political unit; and one might well hesitate to ascribe it to the Cataloguer were it not so entirely in his manner. The barony he ascribes to Achilles is not so bad as this, though bad enough; but the barony of Eurypylos is actually worse.

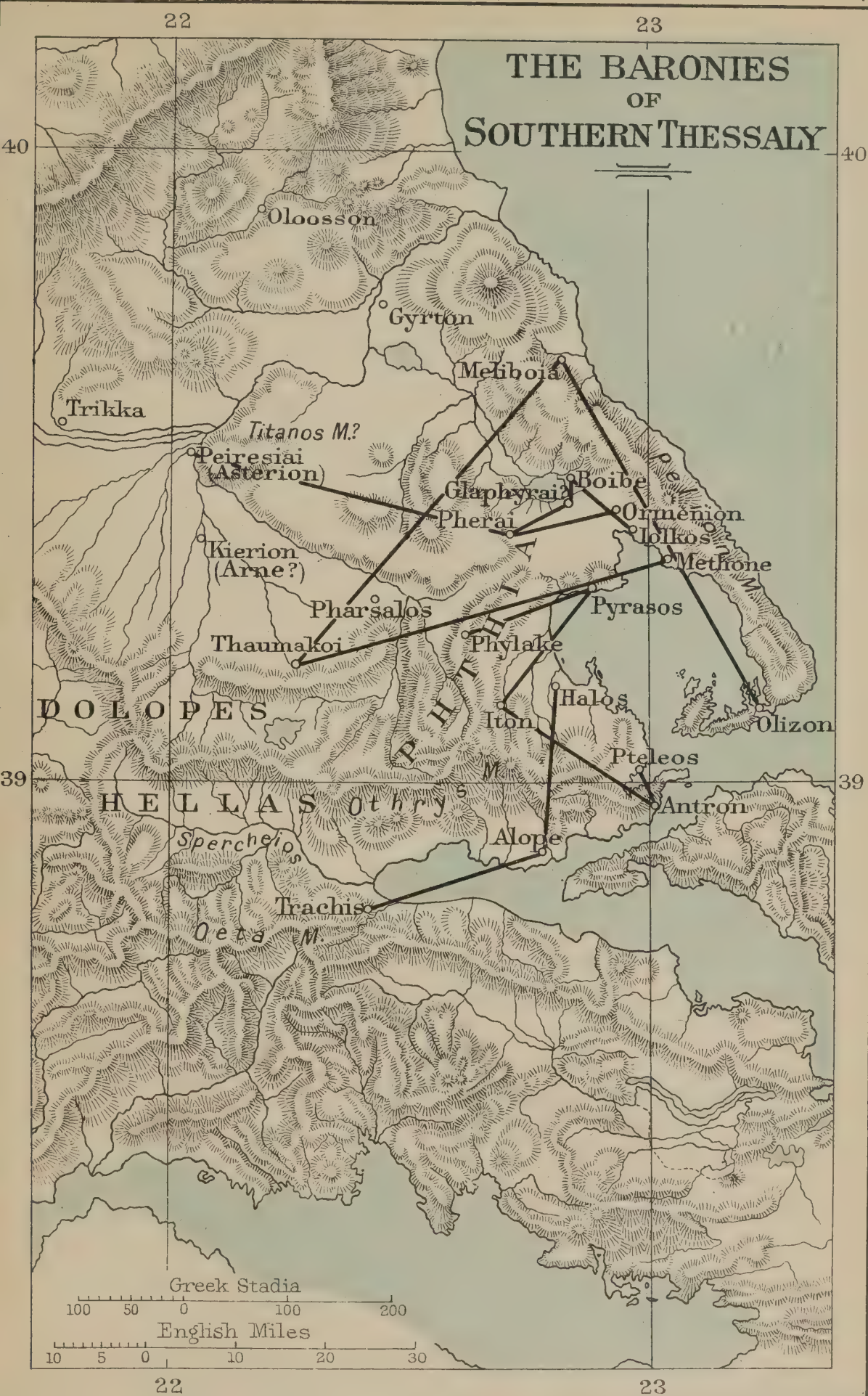
Before we come to Eurypylos, however, we must pause to make one further remark. Not the least odd thing about the barony of Philoktetes is that Philoktetes should be the baron of it. Though, from the nature of the case, he does not appear in the battles of the *Iliad*, he is a recognized person of the Trojan legend, and receives passing mention in the *Odyssey*, once as a famous archer (viii. 219), once as having returned home in safety (iii. 190). There is, however, nothing in Homer to connect him with the Magnesian country; and if we turn to later tradition, we find not only that he has no home there, but that he has a very definite home in quite another place. He is a Malian, and lives on the slopes of Oeta, where he is indissolubly bound up with the local legend of the death of Herakles. The famous bow and arrows with which he is destined to bring about the fall of Troy are in fact the legacy of the dying hero. To

Sophokles he is always a Malian,¹ and the townsmen of Lamia placed him on their coins. Is it possible that Thaumakie was assigned to him in order to bring him as near as possible to Malis without filching anything from the little barony of Achilles?

Another small oddity may be noticed, though no very great stress can be laid upon it. In the absence of Philoktetes, his troops are led by Medon, the bastard son of Oileus, and half-brother of the lesser Aias. But Medon has in Homer nothing to do with Philoktetes; he should be the "man" of Protesilaos, in whose town of Phylake he has taken refuge to escape the consequences of a family homicide (*Il.* xv. 333 ff.). The point is interesting only as another illustration of the method of the Cataloguer. The author of the *Ionia* is at least consistent in this; for he joins Medon with Podarkes, in the command of the "Phthians," the men of Protesilaos who holds Phthia.

Next comes the barony of Eurypylos. The places named in it are Ormenion, the fountain Hypereia, Asterion, and the white peaks of Titanos. The last two of these cannot be certainly identified; Strabo says vaguely that Asterion was near Arne, Steph. Byz., more definitely, that it was the later Peiresiai. The two are not inconsistent—Kierion, which Steph. takes to be the same as Arne, is only 10 miles from Peiresiai; but Strabo evidently does not venture to accept the identity. In any case, however, the order

¹ *Phil.* 4, τὸν Μηλιά Ποίαντος υἱόν, etc.



Stanford's Geog. Estab^t, London.

London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

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of the enumeration, between Triikka on the west and Gyrtion on the east, would suggest this neighbourhood; and the ruins of Peiresiai at the modern Vlocho "are perched on a high and conspicuous hill of peculiar shape, whose rocks are of a white crystalline limestone."¹ Whether the identification is merely a matter of guesswork or no we cannot say, but it seems probable enough that Asterion and Titanos may really have been here.

For the other two points, Ormenion and the fountain Hypereia, better evidence is available. Strabo knew of a town called Orminion or Ormenion² lying at a distance of 27 stades—3 miles—from Demetrias, on the road passing by Iolkos, which itself was only 7 stades from Demetrias. The site has not, I believe, been discovered; but Strabo's indications are near enough, and fix it close to Pherai; and as we have seen the fountain Hypereia is definitely located in Pherai itself. The two localities hang together. The Cataloguer has therefore given Eurypylos two sites in the midst of the barony of Eumelos, one of them a fountain in the centre of his town of Pherai. Well may Strabo say that this is absurd.³

The barony is of course an impossible one; but not more impossible than its neighbours. Peiresiai

¹ C. D. Edmonds, *B.S.A.* v. 23.

² ix. 5. 18.

³ The passage is corrupt, but the general sense is clear enough: ἡ δ' Ὑπέρεια κρήνη ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶ τῇ Φεραίων πόλει †μεταλαιούσῃ ἄτοπον τοίνυν . . . λωι. For μεταλαιούσῃ Kramer conjectures Εὐμήλου οὔσῃ, and supplies in the lacuna δοῦναι αὐτὴν Εὐρυπύλῳ.—See Appendix, Note E.

is not farther separated from Ormenion than Methone from Thaumakoi; and though the Cataloguer cannot consciously have been putting Eurypylos with Hypereia into the middle of Eumelos' town of Pherai, it is not impossible that he may have believed himself to mean Pharsalos, which, at the time when he wrote, may have already set up its claim to have the famous fountain within its walls.

The baron, Eurypylos, may fairly be described as an important hero of the second rank. He plays his part in the fighting; twice he kills his man (*Il.* v. 76, vi. 36); he volunteers to meet Hector in single combat (vii. 167); he is one of the nine leaders who gallantly head a rally of the Achaians at a moment of danger (viii. 265). But his real importance comes in an episode which is vital, not indeed to the course of the war, but to the construction of the *Iliad*. Towards the end of Book xi. the Achaians are severely repulsed; some of the chiefs are wounded and have to quit the field, among them Machaon, who is carried to the rear in the chariot of Nestor. Achilles, watching the fight, sends Patroklos to Nestor to see if the wounded man is indeed Machaon. Patroklos carries out his errand, and sets off to return with his message to Achilles.

But the poet's intention is that the return of Patroklos should be the impulse which makes Achilles relent and send forth the Myrmidons to the rescue. Between the departure of Patroklos

from the tent of Nestor and his entry into that of Achilles much has to happen—the whole of the storming of the wall and the gallant defence of the ships themselves by Aias. This battle occupies in fact nearly the whole of four long books. In order to give time for all this accumulation of disasters, which Patroklos has to report to his friend, it is necessary that he should be delayed on his way back; and this purpose is served by his falling in on the road with the wounded Eurypylos. The scene between the two men is full of poetry and charm, and serves its purpose admirably. Yet it seems to give the impression that Eurypylos is a purely poetical invention, and owes his existence to this single scene. We hear a good deal about him in the course of it; we know that his father is called Euaimon, but of his barony or his birthplace there is not a single word. The only touch of local colour is when he asks Patroklos to lay on his wound the soothing herbs “whereof they say thou hast learnt from Achilles, whom Cheiron taught, the most righteous of the Centaurs.” As the barony of Eurypylos lies, at Ormenion, on the very slopes of Pelion, one would hardly think that he needed to apply to Achilles, miles away in Malis, for the herb-lore of Cheiron.

But Eurypylos, though Homer says not a word to locate him whether in Thessaly or anywhere else, had in later religion a well-determined home, in the shape of a grave with hero-worship; and this

was not in Thessaly, but a long way off, quite on the other side of Greece, at Patrai. Pausanias gives a chapter to the question, and it is well worth consideration. After describing the strange festival held at Patrai in honour of Artemis Laphria, Pausanias continues:¹ "Between the temple of Laphria and the altar there is the tomb of Eurypylos. Who he was and why he came into the country I shall relate presently." He then tells the romantic tale of Melanippos and Komaitho, and resumes: (3) "The people had previously received an oracle from Delphi to the effect that a strange king would come to their land bringing a strange demon with him, and would stop the sacrifice to Triklaria. Now in the division of the spoils which took place among the Greeks after the taking of Ilium, Eurypylos son of Euaimon received a chest, and in this chest was an image of Dionysos. . . . Eurypylos opened the chest and saw the image, and no sooner did he see it than he went out of his mind, and mad he continued, with a few lucid intervals. In this condition he steered, not for Thessaly, but for the gulf and town of Kirrha." Thence he is led to Patrai, where he duly stopped the human sacrifice. "Some writers, however, say that the hero of this tale was not the Thessalian Eurypylos, but another Eurypylos son of Dexamenos king of Olenos. But . . . the Patraeans have no recollection of any Eurypylos, except Eurypylos son of Euaimon; nay more, they sacrifice to him as a hero every year

¹ vii. 19. 1.

at the time when they celebrate the festival of Dionysos.”¹

Now here we have an interesting and instructive instance of an important phenomenon. The real worship at Patrai is clearly paid to a Year Spirit, an Eniautos Daimon, in Miss Harrison's phrase—a primitive spirit of fertility, far older in his essence than the Trojan War. But he has been clothed with the person of a Homeric hero. Fortunately we have the different theory of later critics, and its explicit rejection by the local legend, to clear away any possible doubt that the Eurypylos of Patrai is really the Homeric Eurypylos; and even the dissidents did not pretend to deny that the legend was connected with the fall of Troy, only they explained that Eurypylos “son of Dexamenos” got the chest when Troy was taken, not by Agamemnon, but by Herakles. That, of course, was done to get rid of the difficulty caused by the Catalogue, which placed Eurypylos son of Euaimon in Thessaly. The genuine tradition effected the reconciliation by an amusingly transparent and childlike device; Eurypylos came to Patrai in error, during an attack of Bacchic madness.

The process by which such ancient faiths became crystallized upon the figures of the Epos is interesting and difficult; it will be dealt with hereafter. And still more difficult is the problem which I have

¹ οὔτε μὲν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ τὸν Εὐαίμονος ἔχουσιν Εὐρύπυλον ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπειδὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγωσι.

incidentally raised—how far the Epos created its own characters. That it should have done so, at least with the subordinates, does not seem impossible; but the criteria by which such creations are to be distinguished from the characters of the original legend are hard to fix. All that I would say now is that, if there were such fresh creations, the person of Eurypylos, homeless, introduced for the sake of an episode which is important constructionally but insignificant for the tradition, must be taken as the type of what we should expect in such a creation.

One other thing must be added about the Eurypylos of Patrai. He can hardly have been located there after the time when the Catalogue had attained canonical authority. If he was historical, an Achaian who took part in the War of Troy, his home may have been in the district of Patrai, and as a local hero he would form a natural nucleus to receive the attributes of the local Year Spirit. But I am not sure that this is necessary. I am not sure that popular fancy or even more probably religious authority may not have appropriated for such a purpose a hero who either belonged to another district or was a mere creation of the Epos. And if Eurypylos was a creation of the Epos, it will follow that his heroization at Patrai comes from a time when the main structure of the *Iliad* was fixed and well known, but before the Catalogue had been introduced into it from its proper time and place; in fact, after the

Iliad had been composed, but before anything was known of the Catalogue. The issues thus raised are wide indeed—far too wide to be discussed in a parenthesis. They must be left here while we return to the baronies of Phthia.

There is a possible argument which may be worth consideration, though I do not know that it has ever been actually used. It might be said that the Catalogue does not deny Peleus his larger kingdom; that Achilles, Protesilaos, Eumelos, Philoktetes, and Eumelos are his subordinate barons, "chieftains who are the wardens of his different cities," like Phoinix among the Dolopes. But this will not stand examination. For if they all commanded armies of Myrmidons, they must either have retired from the war when Achilles withdrew the Myrmidons, or been guilty of flat mutiny. All in fact go on fighting. Eurypylos is wounded while Achilles is away; but Patroklos makes no allusion to such strange conduct in a vassal of Peleus, such direct disobedience to his heir. Medon, who dwells in the home of Protesilaos, but for some unknown reason commands the forces of Philoktetes, falls in battle while Achilles is still sulking in his hut. Podarkes appears on the field, in command of the Phthians, while the men of Achilles, in whose barony Phthia lies, are idling their time away in games. Eumelos, it would seem, may have been in retirement, but to judge from the absence of his name in the fighting, he was less obedient when his comrades are afterwards called out; he is only a

racer, and waits for the Funeral Games to make his first appearance. Not one of these vassals appears in the Catalogue of the Myrmidons in the sixteenth book. Yet they command between them 88 ships against the 50 of Achilles. Much more than half—nearly two-thirds—of Peleus' men are led by mutinous or useless generals.

But of course this is absurd. The Cataloguer never thinks of the "barons" as vassals at all. They are all coequal chiefs. The kingdom of Peleus has been parcelled out among heroes who seem to have been selected for the smallness of the part they play in the *Iliad*. Three of the five have no definite footing in their baronies either in Homer or later tradition. Two at least have a definite footing elsewhere in later mythology. And three of the baronies are impossible geographically.

We may as well recognize at once—it will be further discussed at a later point—that the Cataloguer, with little or no knowledge of Thessaly beyond a list of names, is intent upon breaking up the old Achaian kingdoms into small cantons. These he assigns partly to the minor heroes of the Trojan legend, partly to descendants of the heroes of another and older tradition which had nothing to do with Troy. The Lapiths are thus brought from northern Thessaly, Eumelos from Iolkos.

Central and northern Thessaly lay, as we have seen, generally outside the purview of the Achaians and of Homer. The Peraibians and Enienes, under

Guneus, from the north, like the Magnetes from the east, are simply ignored in the *Iliad*; they do not even provide a leader to be slain. The others who come hence are the Lapiths, the northern folk of Eurypylos' barony—with these we have already dealt—and finally the sons of Asklepios, Machaon and Podaleirios, who are given the barony of Triikka in the extreme north-west—a location confirmed outside the Catalogue, in *Il.* iv. 202. Podaleirios is a mere name in the *Iliad*—he is just mentioned in xi. 833. Machaon, however, plays a part in two important episodes—in the wounding of Menelaos in iv., and in the critical constructional episode which gives reality to Eurypylos (xi. 506 ff.). But, as with Eurypylos, we learn nothing about him except his father's name. It is likely enough that Machaon too may have been a creation of the poet, and made into a son of Asklepios only in virtue of his profession.

There is in Homer no trace whatever of any worship paid to Asklepios, who appears only as the father of his sons. Though he had a famous sanctuary in after days at Triikka, his birthplace was in the Dotian plain, on the east side of Thessaly, where Apollo became his father by the nymph Koronis. It is probable that all this tale came into Greek tradition from Minyan sources, and was of little interest to the Achaians. There is, however, one allusion which seems to point to the Dotian plain; for Machaon's father had received soothing

herbs from Cheiron,¹ and his home must therefore have been near Pelion, not on the far western boundaries of Thessaly. And that is the nearest approach to any knowledge of inner Thessaly that can be found in Homer.

¹ αἶψ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
πάσσε, τά οἱ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων.
Il. iv. 218-9.

CHAPTER V

THE DOMINION OF ODYSSEUS

FOR the purpose of reconstructing from Homer the geography of Odysseus' home we are almost entirely dependent on the *Odyssey*. From the *Iliad* we learn only that Ithaka is a rugged island, and that the people he leads to war are called the Kephallenes.¹ In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, we not only have continual allusions to the scenery among which the action of more than half the poem passes, but we find more than one piece of deliberate geographical description so careful and minute that it was certainly meant to give the effect of reality. In the *Odyssey*, in fact, occur the only real pieces of geographical description in Homer; and upon our ability to understand and interpret them must depend the whole view which we take of the relation of the Homeric poems to the actualities of the world—actualities which we are able to examine and test by the still accessible testimony of the seas and islands of the west. If Homer proves fallacious when he gives us full geographical details, we can

¹ *Il.* iii. 201, iv. 330.

have no confidence in our data when we endeavour, as we often must, to deduce a real world out of his scattered and uncertain allusions; we have no right to urge any claim to confidence on the ground merely that they are intelligible and consistent. The position of Ithaka as described by Homer is the final touchstone by which we can discern whether he is recording reality or inventing a topography with the full licence of the poet's imagination.

The principal geographical description, and that with which we have chiefly to deal, comes at the opening of Odysseus' long tale of his adventures in the court of Alkinoos (*Od.* ix. 21). "I dwell," he says, "in far-seen Ithaka. . . . Around it lie many islands hard by the one to the other, Dulichion and Same (or Samos) and woody Zakynthos." And this quaternion of islands—Ithaka, Dulichion, Same, and Zakynthos—recurs more than once in the *Odyssey*. In the first book (245 ff.) Telemachos says, "All the princes that bear rule in the islands, in Dulichion and Same and wooded Zakynthos, and all that have sway in rugged Ithaka, all these woo my mother." The phrase is repeated again in the sixteenth (122) and nineteenth (131) books. The four islands are regarded throughout as a geographical unit.

That they are all united under the single rule of Odysseus is not expressly said; indeed, during the action of the *Odyssey* there can hardly be said to be any realm of Odysseus—all is going to pieces in his absence. Still there is one occasion which displays



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some sort of political unity, and that is the general assembly summoned by Telemachos at the beginning of the second book. The main object of that assembly is to make an appeal in public, in the face of the assembled "Achaïans," to the better feelings of the suitors. It is to them that Telemachos addresses himself: "Refrain, my friends, and let me wear myself out with sorrow alone, unless it be that my good father Odysseus wrought the Achaïans harm in wilfulness, so that in revenge ye are doing ill by me" (70 ff.). Now of these suitors 52 come from Dulichion, 24 from Same, 20 from Zakynthos, and only 12 from Ithaka (xvi. 247 ff.); yet all attend the assembly in Ithaka, and all are included in the words which Mentor uses of Odysseus (ii. 233): "None of the peoples that he ruled, kind as a father, takes any thought of him."¹ It is not, I think, seriously disputed that all the suitors, whencesoever they come, are on the same footing as chieftains under the common rule of Odysseus, and that they hope, by marrying his widow and so obtaining his house, to succeed to the kingship of his whole realm. Amphinomos of Dulichion stands in precisely the same situation as Eurynomos of Ithaka and Ctesippos of Same. All alike are included among the peoples over whom Odysseus ruled, and to whom he was kindly as a father.

¹ The same thought is conveyed in the words of Penelope, iv. 688 ff., which refer to the suitors as a whole:

οἷος Ὀδυσσεύς ἔσκε μεθ' ὑμετέροισι τοκεῦσιν,
οὔτέ τινα ῥέζας ἐξαΐσιον οὔτέ τι εἰπὼν
ἐν δῆμῳ· ἥ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θεῶν βασιλέων.

And once at least Telemachos, emboldened by the presence of his father, asserts something like a primacy over all the islands. "My mother," he says to Penelope, "as for the bow, no Achaian is mightier than I to give or to deny it to whomsoever I will, neither as many as are lords in rocky Ithaka nor in the isles on the side of Elis, the pastureland of horses."¹ But, though the words are capable of a wide sense, it is hardly possible to lay great stress on them; in the question of his father's bow Telemachos may naturally claim an authority which is rather domestic than political.

The suitors themselves are called by the common name of Achaians; they come from the military aristocracy. The people under their sway, the primitive populations, are the Kephallenes—the termination, as has been often observed, is characteristic of the tribes of this part of Greece, where we find also Ainienes, Akarnanes, Eurytanes, Athamanes, Azanes, Atintanes, and others. The Kephallenian name is found on the mainland as well as in the islands; for it was on the mainland that Odysseus established the neatherd Philoitios in his youth in a district of the Kephallenes, **Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δήμῳ** (*Od.* xx. 210, compared with 187). It is only in the last book of the *Odyssey* that the distinction between

¹ μήτηρ ἐμὴ, τόσον μὲν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ τις ἐμεῖο
κρείσσων ὧι κ' ἐθέλω δόμεναί τε καὶ ἀρνήσασθαι,
οὔθ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κατὰ κοιρανέουσιν,
οὔθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἥλιδος ἵπποβότοιο.

Od. xxi. 344-7.

Achaïans and Kephallenes seems to be lost; the tribesmen whom Laertes led to war in his youth bear the name indeed (xxiv. 378), but once at least (429) it is given to the suitors themselves, **τοὺς δ' ἐλεῶν ἔκτεινε Κεφαλλήνων ὄχ' ἀρίστους**, and the same idea is suggested in 355. But the general picture is that of a uniform population of Kephallenians throughout the islands, ruled by a uniform Achaïan aristocracy.

Now when we look at the map, and seek to identify on it this group of four islands, we start with at least one fixed point. No one has ever doubted, so far as I know, that Homer's Zakynthos is the modern Zakynthos or Zante. And grouped with Zakynthos we find three other islands which seem at first to satisfy all our needs—the islands known in modern times as Cephalonia (Kephallenia), Thiaki, and Leukas or Santa Maura. But before we can make this apparently certain equation we are met with the objection that the last, Leukas, is not an island at all, but a promontory of the mainland, and we are referred to Strabo,¹ who tells us that Corinthian colonists sent by Kypselos "dug through the isthmus of the peninsula, and turned Leukas into an island."

All good maps, in spite of this, represent Leukas as an island, and its claim to the name can hardly be disputed, if we accept as the definition of an island, a piece of land surrounded by water. That Leukas certainly is. But it is not an island if we take as part of the definition that an island should be cir-

¹ x. 2. 8.

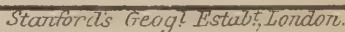
cumnavigable. That Leukas is not by nature. The water which separates it from the mainland is a lagoon, generally less than 2 feet deep, and in one place at least only 100 yards wide. A channel, however, passable for ships drawing 14 feet and kept open by dredging,¹ runs across it from south to north, ending in an artificial cut through a long spit of sand and pebbles. This bounds it on the north, running transversely towards the mainland, without ever reaching it, on the north-east. The cut was probably made first by the Corinthian colonists;² it has been silted up and reopened more than once. During the Peloponnesian war it would seem that it was closed, and ships were dragged across the spit.³ The description of Livy (33, 17) still applies to the island; "Leucadia, nunc insula, et uadoso freto quod perfossum manu est ab Acarnania diuisa."⁴ In short, the conditions some 2400 years ago were substantially the same as to-day, save that the lagoon appears to have

¹ "This channel is regularly used by the mail steamers," *Med. Pilot*, iii. 308. It was opened about twelve years ago in place of an earlier channel, made under English rule, which was only serviceable for small boats.

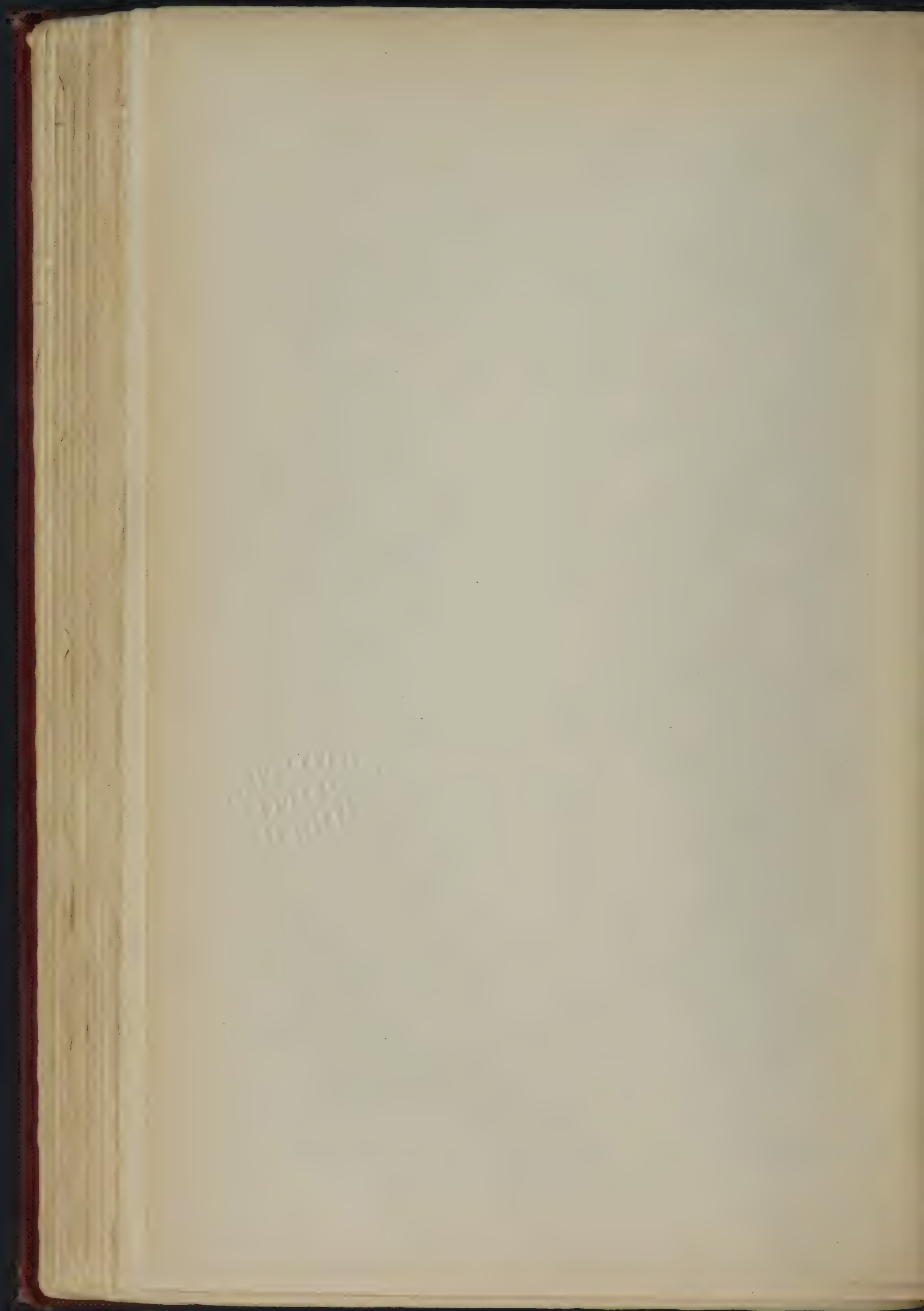
² The ancient authorities are cited and discussed in full by Partsch in *Petermanns Mitth.*, *Ergänzungsband* 21 (1890), and again, with the fuller knowledge following on the elaborate survey of the island made in 1905 by Captain von Marées, in *Pet. Mitth.* 53 (1907), p. 269 ff. He leaves open the question whether the Corinthians cut through the spit itself, or whether they may not have made an artificial channel through the very shallow part of the lagoon lying between the northern end of the spit and the mainland. On the main point his conclusion is very clear: "dass der Insel Leukas eine Selbständigkeit gegenüber dem Festland gewissermassen angeboren war," and he fully confirms Leake's opinion that the island was never more of a peninsula or less of an island than it now is (*P.M.* 53, 277).

³ *Thuc.* iii. 81, iv. 8.

⁴ For the following words, "tum paeninsula erat occidentis regione arctis faucibus cohaerens Acarnaniae," reference must be made to Partsch's articles.



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grown rather shallower; and geographers and geologists are, I believe, agreed that for centuries earlier Leucadia was just as much an island as it is now.

We have therefore a right to include Leukas as one of the four islands to be identified with the Homeric quaternion, while admitting that, in a quite admissible sense, Strabo may be right when he says that the colonists, when they dug the channel through the sand-spit, separated it from the mainland. If we do not thus include Leukas, we at once find ourselves in difficulties. What these were we can learn at once by studying the historians and geographers, from Hellanikos and Hekataios to the present day. They have been engaged in a perpetual struggle to get four names into three islands, or else to find a fourth island which will do duty for Dulichion, the most disputed of the four.

According to the tradition, the Homeric Ithaka was the little island, much the smallest of the four, which still bears the name of Thiaki. Just opposite to it, on the coast of Kephallenia, lay a town called Samos—a town of which remarkable Hellenic remains still exist. It seemed natural, therefore, to see in Kephallenia the Homeric Same or Samos. And then the troubles began. Leukas was not allowed to be an island; it was the “shore of the mainland,” the ἀκτὴν ἡπειρώϊον, where stood the city of Nerikos of which Laertes speaks (*Od.* xxiv. 377). Where then was Dulichion? On the whole, the best opinion of antiquity thought that Dulichion was Kephallenia;

for it seems certain that Dulichion was the largest of the group; in the Catalogue it sends the largest number of ships to Troy, in the *Odyssey* it sends the largest number of suitors to Ithaka. But this involved the abandonment of the identification of Same, and only altered the question; for where was Same?¹

Various devices were proposed to meet the difficulty. Some thought that Kephallenia included both Dulichion and Same; that the northern and western portion were Dulichion, the eastern and southern, where stands the town of Samos, were Same. Others, more heroic, said that Dulichion was a lost island, which had sunk into the sea since the days of Homer, an Ionian Lyonesse or Atlantis. Strabo had a theory of his own, that Dulichion was the same as Doliche, an islet in the group of the Echinades to which we shall have to recur.

But the confusion grew still worse when it was attempted to reconcile with the position of Thiaki the careful geographical description which Odysseus gives of his own home in Ithaka. The following are the words (*Od.* ix. 21-26):

ΝΑΙΕΤΆΩ Δ' Ἰεάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
 Νήριτον εἰνόςφυλλον ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
 πολλὰ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλησι,
 Δουλίχιόν τε Κάμη τε καὶ Ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυθος.
 αὐτὴ δὲ χεαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτῃ εἰν ἀλὶ κεῖται
 πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δὲ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἡελίον τε.

¹ Cf. Strabo x. 2. 14, εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτο δώσει τις, ἐρησόμεθα τίς ἂν εἴη ἡ Κάμη;

Ithaka then lies "farthest up in the sea towards the gloom, while the others are away towards the dawning and the sun." Contrast this with the position of Thiaki. How can it possibly be said that the others "lie towards the sun and the dawn," that is to east and south, when one of them actually envelopes Thiaki on the west? And in what sense does Thiaki lie "farthest up in the sea"? Is the exceptionally strong superlative **πανυπερτάτη** to be explained by the fact that the extreme northern point of Thiaki lies about a mile farther north than the extreme point of Kephallenia? And what are we to say about the epithet "low," **χαμαλή**? "Near the land" will not suffice us here, for Thiaki is separated from the mainland by a stretch of some twenty miles, and is not appreciably nearer to it than Kephallenia nor so near as Zakynthos. We are thus reduced to the conclusion that Homer means that Thiaki was low in the sense in which we use the word. It is hardly possible to imagine an island to which the epithet would be less applicable. The immediate neighbours of Ithaka, though all are hilly, have at least low-lying plains and can in one part or another be considered "low." But save for one little stretch on which the town of Vathy lies, Thiaki has not an acre of low ground; all round the hills rise straight and steep from the sea, not leaving even a strip of beach to carry a path. In the northern part they run right up to a height of 2645 feet, in the south to 2200, in each case where the island is no more than

3 to 4 miles wide. I can only wish those who think the island "low" to take half an hour's walk in it, and reconsider the question.

There have been found those, however, who say that when Homer says "low," he uses the word in a comparative sense only; he really means "not so high as Kephallenia," and they point with satisfaction to the undoubted fact that, as against the 2600 odd feet of Thiaki Kephallenia rises to no less than 5218. Does their reading of Homer teach them that this is the way in which an Epic poet chooses his epithets? What can I wish them? Only a more delicate literary conscience, to whose revenge, if it awakes, I confidently leave them.

And what of the little island of Asteris? It has to lie "in the mid sea, in the channel between Ithaka and Samos."¹ Now in the channel between Thiaki and Kephallenia there is indeed a small rock-reef rising some 20 feet above the water. But it lies close to the shore of Kephallenia, it has nothing like a harbour, whether single or double; it has no windy outlook for the watchers; and it is quite out of the track of any vessel coming from Pylos. In short, if Ithaka is Thiaki, there is no possible Asteris at all.

Let us, then, put aside this mass of confusion and contradiction, and at least give a hearing to another theory, originally suggested by Draheim, but now justly identified with the name of Dörpfeld, its

¹ *Od.* iv. 845. See below, p. 152.

ablest and foremost champion. This theory starts with the description of Ithaka in Odysseus' words, already quoted.

Now, with the map before us, we see clearly that there is one island, and one only of the four, which answers to this description, and answers to it exactly. That island is Leukas. Of Leukas alone can it be said that it lies highest up towards the gloom. The description is that of a sailor going to the dim and still uncanny regions of the north and west, to the Adriatic or across to the Italian coast. As he picks his way along the shore, Leukas is the last of the islands, "highest up" because farthest on his journey. The others, when he returns, lie away from Leukas on his road to the dawning and the sun, to the south and the east, right on the line of the voyage which is to take him first south to the promontories of the Morea and by that road to the east. Do not let us complicate the question by assuming that "the gloom," *ζόφος*, means exactly the West in our sense, and then object that Leukas lies to the north and not to the west of the others. It is true that the ancients thought that the coast line here ran due east and west instead of about N.N.W.-S.S.E.¹ That may be granted, but to me it seems entirely outside the question; it may be relevant for Ptolemy, but it is no concern of Homer's. "The gloom" is a poet's term, and it

¹ Partsch, *Kephalenia* 56, in *Petermanns Mitth.*, Ergänzungsband, 21; see Goessler, *Leukas-Ithaka*, p. 39.

would be a strange conception of the darker points of the compass which did not allow the murky north to colour that word; that it does so is in fact shewn by its opposition not only to the dawning but to the sun.

There remains one word to be explained, the epithet *χαμαλή*, "low." Not one of the four islands can be called "low" in the ordinary sense; all are very hilly, and the particular mention of the conspicuous mountain Neriton shews that this could not have been in the poet's mind. The contradiction is obvious, and the word was duly explained in ancient times as meaning "low down in the sea," *i.e.* close in to land.¹ This explanation may be the more readily accepted because the use appears to have survived in the usage of modern Greek sailors, who use the word *χαμηλά* in precisely the same sense.²

We have thus an exact and strictly geographical account of Leukas, as the island which lies "farthest up in the sea," *i.e.* on the voyage, "towards the north and west, close in to land." Not one word of this description can be applied to any other

¹ *πρόχωρον τῇ ἡπείρῳ*, Strabo x. 2. 12.

² This use of the word is attested not only by Dörpfeld but by the distinguished geographer Dr. Philippson. The adjective is ambiguous, and there is no reason why it should not be used in this sense here, and yet in another place mean "low" in the vertical sense. This seems probable in *Od.* x. 196, *νήσον τὴν περὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἔστεφάνωται · αὐτὴ δὲ χαμαλὴ κεῖται*. We have precisely the same ambiguity in our use of the word "deep." A "deep bay" may mean either a bay which runs far into the land, or one which has deep water; and there is no reason why both senses should not occur in the same work.

island of the group. Leukas, therefore, is Homer's Ithaka.

With this as a fixed point at the one end of the chain, and Zakynthos equally fixed at the other, there can be little difficulty in deciding that Dulichion is the modern Kephallenia and Same the modern Thiaki (Ithaka). Dulichion is larger than Same, indeed to judge from the number of the suitors whom it sends it is the largest of the group; therefore it must be Kephallenia. It is, moreover, **πολύπυρον**, rich in wheat. That epithet could never be applied to the steep and rugged Thiaki, but Kephallenia has large plains in the southern part, still famous for their fertility. Incidentally it may be added that when Ithaka is described (xiii. 244) as producing **κῆτος ἀέεφατος**, the phrase is no longer a mere exaggeration when we see that Ithaka is in Leukas.

But we shall find—and it is in this way that a theory produces real conviction—that when once the identification has been made, detached pieces of evidence on every side fall into place, and by obtaining an immediate explanation round off the hypothesis into a whole.

Thus there is another piece of exact geographical description in another part of the *Odyssey* which confirms in the most curious way our conviction that Leukas must be Homer's Ithaka. The suitors, indignant at Telemachos' independence in going to Nestor and Menelaos for news of his father, determine

to waylay and kill him on his journey home from Pylos. For this purpose they man a ship and post it at an island which he is obliged to pass. This is what is said: "There is a certain rocky island in the mid sea, between Ithaka and craggy Samos, called Asteris—not large, but in it are twin harbours for ships to lie in. There the Achaians lay in wait" (*Od.* iv. 844 ff.).

Now midway in the channel between Leukas and Thiaki there actually lies an island, now called Arkudhi, exactly answering to what Homer says. It is truly "not large," for it is only 2 miles long by 1 broad. But it does, at its south-eastern extremity, contain a little double harbour, formed by a low rocky peninsula jutting far enough into the sea to form on either side of it twin coves in which a low vessel, with its mast down, might lie unnoticed, right upon the course which must needs be taken by a vessel sailing from Pylos to Leukas. Its hill runs up to a height of 400 ft. above the sea, enough to serve as the "windy outlook" where the ambushed suitors kept all day relays of sentinels to watch for the approach of Telemachos.¹ If this is mere coincidence, and not description from knowledge, surely coincidence has done its utmost to flout us.

Leukas lies half-way between the port of Thresprotia on the north and Kephallenia on the south. If Leukas is Ithaka and Kephallenia is

¹ *Od.* xvi. 365.

Dulichion, we can understand at once why a stranger wishing to go from Thesprotia to Ithaka should take the first ship sailing for Dulichion, and why the sailors on their way to Dulichion should put ashore at Ithaka for their evening meal. But no other arrangement of the islands will make such a procedure intelligible.¹

Again, in a passage already quoted,² Telemachos, when he has occasion to speak of Ithaka in contrast to the rest of the group, denotes the latter as the islands which lie "on the side of Elis," πρὸς Ἡλίδος. This is a perfectly natural expression if Leukas is Ithaka, for then all the rest lie to south and south-east, and are passed by a traveller sailing to Elis; but it is meaningless if Thiaki is Ithaka, for not even Kephallenia can be said to be in the direction of Elis from Thiaki; it envelopes Thiaki on the west, while Elis is south-east. It is, of course, in flat contradiction to the theory which would find Dulichion in Leukas.

Let us take another point. Cattle, we are told, are habitually brought to Ithaka by ferrymen.³ Now if Thiaki is Ithaka, it is not possible to believe that such a thing can have been done. Thiaki is separated from land all round by deep water, which it is not safe to cross, in seas exposed to sudden squalls from hills all about, except in regular sea-going ships; and

¹ *Od.* xiv. 334 ff.

² See p. 142.

³ τοῖσι δ' ἐπὶ τρίτος ἦλθε Φιλοίτιος ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν
βοῦν στεῖραν μνηστῆρσιν ἄγων καὶ πίονας αἶγας·
πορῶμῆες δ' ἄρα τοὺς γε διήγαγον οὔτε καὶ ἄλλους
ἀνθρώπους πέμπουσιν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκηται.

Od. xx. 185 ff.

the transport of cattle in sea-going ships is a very difficult and risky matter, not to be lightly undertaken every day. But if it is a mere question of ferrying them across a lagoon two feet deep in a flat punt, we are back again in the region of probabilities. If Homer talks realities at all, the only island of the whole western group to which cattle can be ferried is Leukas, and once more we see how the identification of Leukas with Ithaka illuminates the *Odyssey*.

Seeing, then, that Dörpfeld's equation, Leukas = Ithaka, explains all the facts with an accuracy which is really amazing, while the traditional identification of Ithaka with Thiaki leads into an inextricable maze of contradictions and absurdities, one has to ask why there can be any doubt as to the position which we have to choose? There is one reason, and, so far as I know, only one. It is that tradition, so far back as we can follow it in historical times, made quite sure that Thiaki was Ithaka. This Dörpfeld explains. He points to the undoubted fact that, after Homeric days, there was a strong thrust of invasion from the north. Many populations were displaced to the south, and took with them the names of their old homes. The Boeotians, for instance, as we have seen, carried the name of Arne from Thessaly to Boeotia. The traditional city of Oichalia seems to have been moved twice—certainly from Thessaly to Euboea, perhaps from Euboea to the Peloponnesos. But there happens to be a particularly clear case of the same thing in the closer neighbourhood of Ithaka. Nestor's Pylos

was generally supposed to be identical with the historical Pylos on the Bay of Navarino. But there had in this case survived a tradition that there was another Pylos in Triphylia, whose exact site indeed was not known, but which was the real home of the old king. It is the merit of M. Victor Bérard to have proved, by a convincing examination of the data given by the details of Telemachos' voyage from Ithaka, that this, and this only, must be the place which was meant by Homer; and Dörpfeld, following this trail, has actually discovered at Kakóvatos a set of great royal tombs, proving that there was, almost at the exact point indicated by Bérard, and indeed by Strabo, the seat of a Mycenaeian kingdom. The southward thrust therefore carried with it, after Homeric days, the name of Pylos; why not also that of Ithaka? No scholar, so far as I am aware, now disputes the case of Pylos; why dispute that of Ithaka?

Dörpfeld holds that the thrust telescoped, if I may so say, the inhabitants of the four islands into three, and at the same time telescoped the names. Leukas was the Homeric Ithaka, Thiaki the Homeric Same, Kephallenia the Homeric Dulichion. When the thrust came, the inhabitants of Ithaka were driven south into Thiaki, which they occupied, giving it the name of their own lost home. To do this, they dispossessed the inhabitants of Thiaki, who moved just across the strait into Kephallenia, where they occupied the plain and promontory to which they in their turn gave their own name of Samos. The old

name Dulichion fell into disuse in the resettlement of the island, and gave place to the general tribal name of the peoples who had been so violently forced into it.

The hypothesis seems to possess all the characters of a scientific deduction. It admittedly meets all the facts as stated in Homer, and it explains the one doubtful point by an analogy of the most complete and exact kind. It can, in fact, be met only on one ground—that the facts as stated in Homer do not need explanation, however they may contradict the realities, because Homer did not trouble himself with real geography, but invented as a poet what would best suit his poetical needs. He took indeed certain names which were vaguely known to him as belonging to the distant west, but he used them merely as names, hardly desiring even to give an air of probability to the descriptions with which he clothed them.

Now there is nothing illogical or absurd in this theory. Many poets have acted thus, creating their own poetical geography, and amply justifying their fancy by its own poetical value. Homer may well have done the same. For many years I held this view myself, despairing of any rational interpretation of the *Odyssey* by real geography. There is no reason why it should not still be held by those who think that Odysseus was after all “only a god,” that the island of Thrinakie in the dim west is really the three-pointed Peloponnesos of which the Ionian poet had only the vaguest knowledge, and that the war of

Troy was really fought in Boeotia. It is a question of the general way in which one looks at Homer and his work. What has converted me, after much hesitation, to a belief in Dörpfeld's Leukas theory is not so much the mere fact that it explains the *Odyssey*, as the gradual growth of my conviction, based on my study of the way in which the whole of the scenery of the *Iliad* agrees with reality, that the Epic poets—Homer, if you will—based their poems on actual geography, and did not invent. Whatever my opinion of the origin of the *Odyssey*, I strongly feel two things: firstly, that a public which required accuracy in the east would not be satisfied with fancy in their own world in the west; and secondly, that while the *Odyssey* deals abundantly with the mythical and fanciful, it draws the sharpest possible line between the geography of the two parts of the poem. We can say definitely where Odysseus passes out of reality to fancy, and where he returns to it again. On his voyage from Troy he leaves reality between the Kikones and the Lotus-eaters; on his way home he re-enters it between Scheria and Ithaka. It is only due respect to what Homer himself so clearly shews us if we follow him into the reality, and treat him in the *Odyssey* as it is necessary that we should treat him in the *Iliad*.¹

But we have something besides Homer to consider; there is the Catalogue. We turn for further information to see how the domain of Odysseus is

¹ See Appendix F.

treated there. We receive a startling shock. It appears from the Catalogue that Odysseus was in error not only in his account of the position of his own home, but in treating the Four Isles as a homogeneous group at all. Worst of all, he grossly misleads us when he gives us to suppose that he was the chief man, or even a very important one, in the Four Isles. The leading place, it appears, really belongs to a certain Meges, who not only rules Dulichion, the largest of the group, but outweighs Odysseus in the proportion of five to two; for he leads to Troy no less than thirty ships against the poor dozen of Odysseus. And still worse, the deception is kept up through the whole of the *Odyssey*. The presence of Meges, one would think, must affect the whole political conditions of the Four Isles; yet he is not mentioned from the beginning of the *Odyssey* to the end. Indeed he is excluded. We do not indeed hear much detail about Dulichion, but we are told something. The leader of the Suitors, whom Penelope is most inclined to favour because "he had a good heart," **φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῆσιν**—Amphinomos comes thence. He is the son of Nisos the prince—**ἄναξ**—son of Aretos.¹ No allusion to Meges here. Worse still, we do, in a passing mention, hear who is the king (**βασιλεύς**) of Dulichion—it is not Meges but Akastos; "there chanced to be coming a ship of the Thesprotians to Dulichion rich in wheat; and he"—Pheidon the Thesprotian king—"bade the men carry me thither

¹ *Od.* xvi. 394-8; xviii. 127, 413.

kindly to king Akastos.”¹ So Meges was not king of Dulichion during the action of the *Odyssey*.

But perhaps he had been killed at Troy or perished on the way home—though Homer does not take the trouble to tell us so. Yet the disaster to the Four Islands must have been far greater than the loss of Odysseus with twelve ships only. And surely when Telemachos went to inquire of his father’s fate at Pylos and Sparta, he might at least have put one question, or Nestor and Menelaos might have volunteered some news, about his next-door neighbour. And would not Amphinomos and the rest have been better occupied in seeking the succession of the great man rather than of Odysseus?

And so on and so on. The fact is as clear as the day that the poet of the *Odyssey* had never heard of Meges at Dulichion; that, had he heard of him, the *Odyssey* must needs have been a very different poem from what it is. And if it is necessary to choose between the Catalogue and the *Odyssey*, I for one shall vote in favour of the *Odyssey*.

I might leave the matter there; there is in fact an end of the credit of the Cataloguer. But we may gain some instruction as to his ways if we inquire a little into the credentials of Meges, this rival of Odysseus, who

“comes him cranking in
And cuts him from the best of all his land
A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle, out.”

¹ *Od.* xiv. 336.

Phyleus, the father of Meges, as we learn from Pausanias, our best authority on the traditions of Elis, was a figure in local legend. He was son of Augeias, and, being an honest man, remonstrated with his father on the folly and iniquity of depriving Herakles of the reward promised him for the cleansing of the famous stables. His father, blind and headstrong, banished the audacious son, who fled not to Dulichion but to Aetolia, where he took part in the hunting of the Kalydonian boar. But according to Pausanias¹ he did not remain long in exile. Herakles, after the exemplary vengeance which he wreaked upon the faithless Augeias, "gave up the land of Elis and everything else to Phyleus." Pausanias adds indeed that "after Phyleus had settled the affairs of Elis he returned to Dulichion"; but that is too openly an attempt to reconcile the local legend, which said that Phyleus succeeded his father in Elis, with the Catalogue which said that he stayed in Dulichion. This is, I fear, not the only case where this unfortunate document has distorted the genuine contents of local tradition.

In the action of the *Iliad* itself Meges plays a respectable though not very brilliant part among the minor heroes. He begins by killing Pedaios, otherwise unknown (v. 69-75). In xv. 518 ff. he is more prominent. Polydamas kills his "comrade Otos of Kyllene, leader of the great-hearted Epeians." Meges attacks Polydamas in vain, but succeeds in killing

¹ v. 1. 10; 3. 1 and 3.

Kroismos, otherwise unknown. He is in turn attacked by Dolops, but is saved by a breastplate inherited from his father; in reply he shears the crest off Dolops' helmet, but is disappointed by Menelaos of the honour of killing him. In xv. 302 he receives casual mention with others. In the Doloneia (x. 110, 175) he is honoured by a summons to the emergency council outside the wall, but is immediately forgotten, and never appears. In xix. 239 he is commissioned, with others, to bring from Agamemnon's hut the gifts destined to appease Achilles.

It is not much, but it is enough to bring trouble, as usual, when confronted with the Catalogue, or rather the Catalogues; for Meges appears in the *Ionia* as well as in the *Boeotia*. The two Catalogues both give lists of the leaders of the Epeians; the *Boeotia* names four, the *Ionia* three; but there is not one name in common, and Meges in the *Ionia* is not in Dulichion at all, but is one of the leaders of the people from whom the *Boeotia* makes him a fugitive. And in the *Iliad* we have just found yet another leader, Otos, who is not named in either of the Catalogues. Moreover, this passage of the *Iliad* evidently agrees with the *Ionia* and not with the *Boeotia*, and knows nothing of Meges' exile to Dulichion; for the "comrade" with whom he is acting comes from Kyllene, the historical port of Elis,¹ a town which is omitted by the *Boeotia* from

¹ Paus. vi. 26. 4, with Frazer's note; cf. viii. 5. 8: Strabo viii. 3. 4: Thuc. i. 30, ii. 84, vi. 88, etc.

the list of Elian sites, though it names half a dozen. And finally it appears that to Homer Phyleus himself, the father, was not an exile; for it is at Buprasion, in his own land of Elis, that Neleus met him and outcast him in the spear-throw, when the Pylians faced the Aitolians and Epeians in contest at the funeral games of Amarynkes (*Il.* xxiii. 630 ff.). The mathematician is still helpless before the general problem of three bodies; it seems that we have reached a similar result with our three bodies, the *Boeotia*, the *Ionia*, and the *Iliad*, all of which contradict one another in the most complicated manner. But the general upshot seems to be this—the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Ionia* say that Meges was at home in Elis, the *Boeotia* says he was in Dulichion. Can our conclusion be in doubt?

We have not yet quite done with Meges and the Catalogue. His realm as there given is not confined to Dulichion; it includes also "the holy Echinai," or, to use the name by which they were known in historical times, the Echinades islands. Now the Echinades have a certain scientific interest; for both Herodotos (ii. 10) and Thucydides (ii. 102), having occasion to mention the silting up of the mouths of large rivers, quote the Echinades; as they lay across the mouth of the Acheloos, the delta formation had in their day already annexed half of the Echinades to the mainland, and Thucydides conjectures that the whole group would in course of time become continental. Writing 600 years later, Pausanias remarks

that the prophecy then shewed no sign of fulfilment, the outer Echinades being still out at sea¹; and we, after the lapse of another 1800 years, can only confirm Pausanias. It is easy to recognize the four which, in the fifth century, had been joined to the mainland, still lying at the very edge of the delta, and indeed partly cut off by lagoons. Incidentally this fact strongly confirms the correctness of the conjecture that the lagoon between Leukas and the mainland is to-day substantially identical with what it was in Homeric times.

But why should they form part of the realm of Meges? Why should any one care to claim them? In Thucydides' time they were deserted.² Strabo says that they are all "wretched and rugged,"³ and the description is entirely borne out by the few people who have visited them in modern days. It happens, however, that at one time the Hellenic Government allowed the British Mediterranean fleet to use this remote coast for the purposes of training; and hence we possess not only a minute description of the islands in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, but a large-scale chart of the district, so large that individual houses are marked upon it.⁴ This is the account of the *Mediterranean Pilot* (iii. 311-319).

The Dragonera islands "are covered with large stones and scrub, with a few wild olive trees, are very hilly and rise steeply from the water; cultiva-

¹ viii. 24. 11.

² ἔρημοι δ' εἰς καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι, ii. 102.

³ πᾶσαι λυπραί καὶ τραχεῖαι, x. 2. 19.

⁴ No. 3496, nearly 2 inches to the mile. The survey was made in 1904.

tion in patches is carried on during some months of the year on all but the smallest islands, water being obtained from the storage tanks." There is no hint of permanent habitation in the detailed description of any of the group.

Petala island¹ "provides pasture for considerable flocks of sheep and goats; there are also a few small patches of cultivated ground." "San Nicolo chapel on the neck of the promontory which forms the eastern point"² is the only building marked on the chart or mentioned in the text; this island is probably one of those which were regarded as part of the mainland in ancient days.

"Echinades Islands"³ — Vromona island . . . is partly cultivated, and inhabited only by shepherds." Nothing is said about habitation or cultivation on Makri. "Oxia island"⁴ . . . is inhabited by shepherds only."

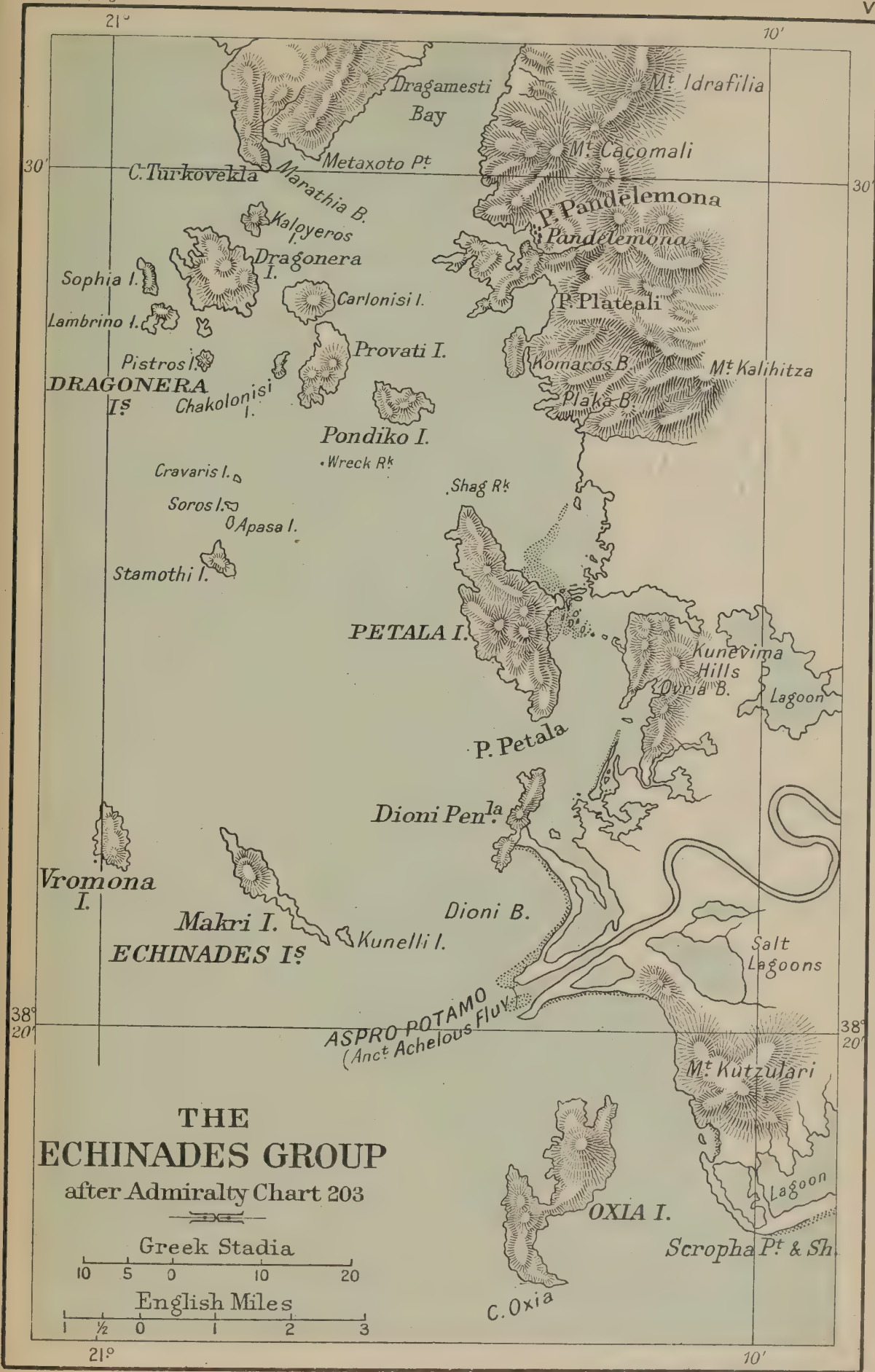
A close examination of the chart fully bears out this account. On going over the whole of this group of islands, and taking the name of Echinades for this purpose in the widest sense, I find the following signs of habitation. Oxia contains three houses, Makri has one—marked as "conspicuous"—Dragonera, the largest of the group, has one, Provati has a group of four "huts," and that is all. And the explanation of this paucity of dwellings is given by the one scientific traveller, so far as I know, who has visited the group. Leake tells us that of the seventeen

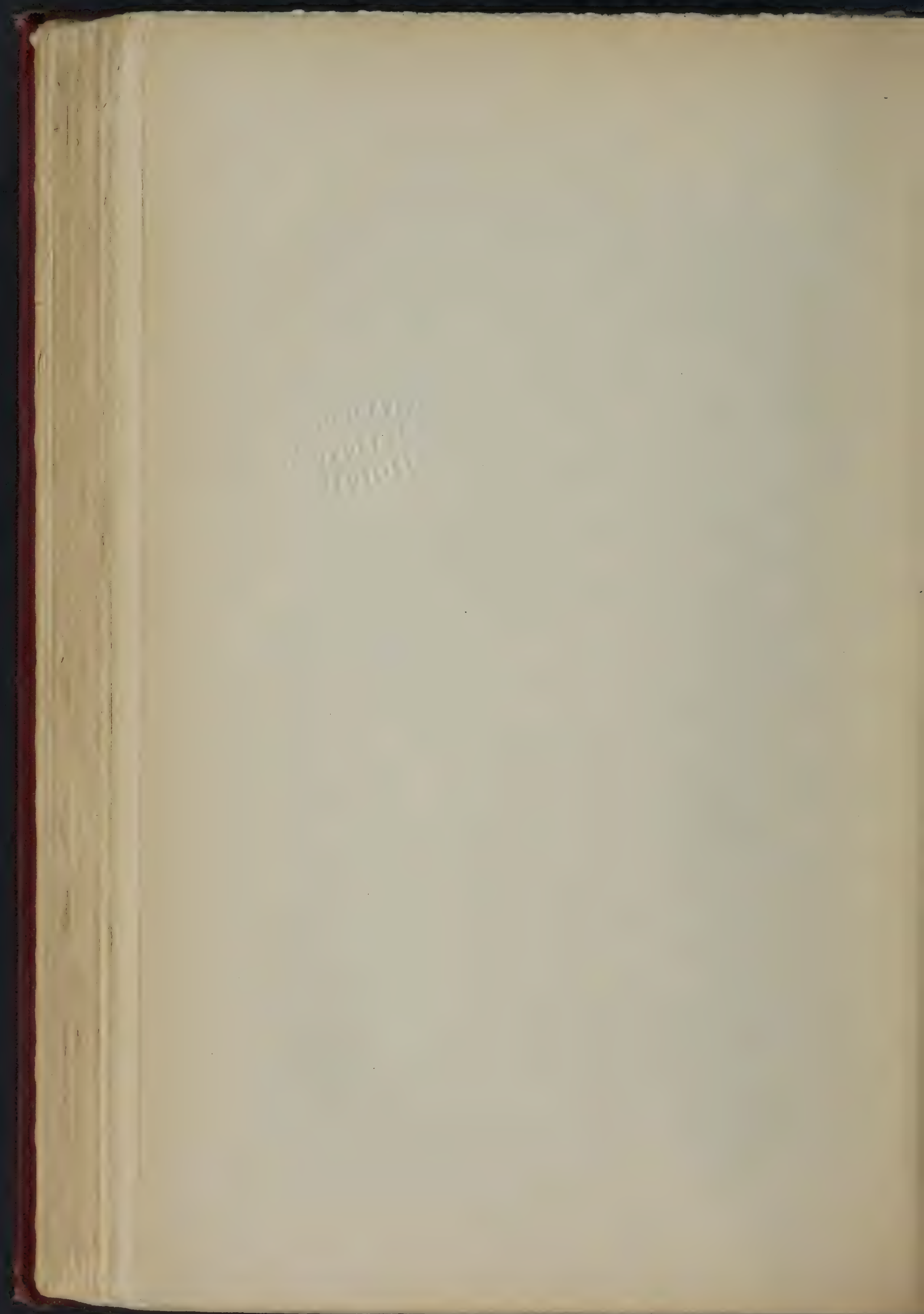
¹ P. 316.

² P. 317.

³ P. 318.

⁴ P. 319.





islands nine are cultivated; not, however, by any inhabitants of their own, but by people from Ithaka (Thiaki) who come over for the purpose in the summer only.¹

Why, then, should this poor cluster of rocks have been found worthy of mention in the Catalogue at all? The question is one which calls for explanation, and a probable answer to it can, I think, be found. The district in which the islands lie had a piece of legendary history to itself, and this legend connects it directly with Boeotia. On this coast dwelt the people of the Teleboai, against whom Amphitryon of Thebes was said to have carried out a victorious expedition;² and the very delta of the Acheloos was the land assigned to Alkmaion, the son of Amphiaraos, as the new land which alone would receive him after the murder of his mother.³ Twice, therefore, can we see that the Echinades were brought into direct connexion with Thebes; and it is therefore natural that to the Boeotian Cataloguer they should possess a traditional importance quite out of proportion with their real quality.

And now comes in another fact. One of the islands has always been called "Long Island"—in modern days Makri, in ancient Doliche. This Doliche is identified by Strabo⁴ with the Dulichion of Homer. So far as the *Odyssey* is concerned,

¹ For the convenience of inquirers I may mention that it is useless to go to Pauly-Wissowa for information; the article on the Echinades is worthless, and the question of Dulichion is ignored; but there is an excellent article on the Echinades in Smith's Dictionary of Geography.

² Herod. v. 59.

³ Thuc. ii. 102; Paus. viii. 24. 8.

⁴ x. 2. 19.

there is not a word to be said in favour of the idea ; but it is probably right for the Dulichion of the Catalogue. In fact, when the Cataloguer says οἱ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων ἐ' ἱεράων νήων, αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἄλδς Ἥλιδος ἅντα, he means "Dulichion and the other Echinades" just as in the preceding section when he says (615) οἱ δ' ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἥλιδα δῖαν ἔναϊον he means quite unmistakably "those who dwelt in Buprasion and the rest of Elis." In his day the real Dulichion had already become Kephallenia, in the course of the telescoping process, and the old name had passed into the region of speculation and guessing. The Cataloguer, therefore, like Strabo after him, took the nearest name which he could find, thinking that the Echinades, where he found it, were as important in fact as they were in the local tradition of Thebes, with which, as a Boeotian, he was naturally familiar. In assigning the territory to a prince from Elis he may even have had some ground of fact. As we have seen, the islands are now attached to Thiaki, since the marshy and almost impassable nature of the delta of the Acheloos renders them far more accessible by sea than by land. It is likely enough that at one time the summer cultivation may have been carried on from the south rather than the west—the distance is much the same from Elis as from Thiaki—and that this may be reflected in the exile of Phyleus to Aitolia and of his son to Doliche. But, as we have seen, neither story can have grown up till post-Homeric days.

Here let us leave the Catalogue, and return to more interesting and instructive themes, to Homer and Ithaka. Let us inquire what were the relations of this Ithaka described by Homer with such loving care, to the world around it.

One thing at least the *Odyssey* tells us plainly. Ithaka was no "lonely rock," no "ancient St. Helena" lost in its solitude and cut off from the rest of Achaian Greece. It belongs to the mainland, and is in constant touch with it. The part of the continent just across the lagoon is in its domain, and here the king of Ithaka keeps his flocks and herds. This region, however, is cut off by hills, and still worse, by marshes, from easy communication by land; it is by sea, the natural highway of all Greece, that men pass most easily back and forth. To go to Ithaka by land was not impossible—the short ferry at the end is reckoned as part of the land journey, of course—but it was at least unusual, and probably not quite respectable; at least it may have laid a newcomer under the suspicion of friendship with the rough hill-tribes inland, who never at any time, it would seem, came wholly under Hellenic influences.¹ It was perhaps among these savage tribes that the bogey king Echetos, the bane of all men, lived "on the mainland."² Hence it is that strangers arriving

¹ See the curious story of the civilization of the Akarnanians of the Amphiloehian Argos in Thuc. ii. 68, particularly the words οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσι.

² πέμψω σ' ἡπειρόνδε, βαλὼν ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
εἰς Ἐχέτον βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλῆμονα πάντων,
Od. xviii. 84-5.

in Ithaka are greeted with the question, "On what ship didst thou come? For I suppose thou hast not come on foot." Now that Ithaka is placed at Leukas, we see that the question is no longer, as used to be generally supposed, a primitive and rather silly joke applicable to any island, but asks for significant information; and hence it is put not only to newcomers who might find some freshness in the local witticism, but by one native to another—by Telemachos to Eumaios, when he is only anxious to know the credentials of the stranger whom he finds in the swineherd's hut.¹

To the southward, however, traffic was, for a people of sea-farers, as easy as possible. It was a mere half day's sail to Elis, well in sight across the southern horizon. A full day—or rather, since the local winds, as M. Bérard has so well shewn, then suited best, a full night—carried the traveller to Pylos on the western coast of the Peloponnesos, and two days more by a carriage road to Sparta in the very heart of it. Strangers are always coming to Ithaka with news, real or supposed, of Odysseus, till Penelope is weary of seeing them. A merchant prince from the neighbourhood looks in, while on a commercial adventure, to hear and give the latest news. So little a matter is it to run over to Elis that an Ithakan casually mentions that he keeps a stud of brood mares there for the breeding of mules; he wants his ship to go and see about the breaking

¹ Cf. *Od.* xvi. 57-9 with xiv. 185-190.

in of the colts.¹ Another mentions, equally as a matter of course, that he wishes to collect a debt owing him by the Kaukones—neighbours, it would seem, of Nestor at Pylos.² And when Odysseus has to invent a feigned home, he always goes to Crete, the farthest extremity of the Greek world; the Peloponnesos is too well known to be safe from risk. In short, Ithaka is rather an ancient Isle of Wight than an ancient St. Helena.

But when we look from Ithaka in the opposite direction, "towards the gloom," the prospect is curiously limited. It extends northward along the coast as far as Thesprotia, and no farther. Thesprotia indeed is so familiar, it is so natural for a man returning to Ithaka to stop at the port of king Pheidon the Thesprotian, and take the trip inland to consult the oracle at Dodona, that Odysseus twice makes the story serve as a preface to introduce the imminence of his own return. It appears, too, that a stranger in Thesprotia seeking to sail southwards has no need to wait any long time; he just takes the first ship that "happens to be sailing" for Dulichion, so common is the intercourse between the islands and the stretch of coast which lies immediately north of them.³

But beyond Thesprotia is the region of mist, where we would gladly find a definite shape, but can see only dim glimpses of distant lands. The clearest of these glimpses is given us in the name of the

¹ *Od.* iv. 635.

² iii. 366.

³ See *Od.* xiv. 321 ff., xix. 287 ff.

Sikels, the race which, it would seem, came down from the north, and after occupying the modern Apulia, pressed on across the straits into Sicily itself, driving back the older inhabitants, the Sikanoi, and ultimately bestowing their own name on the whole island of Sicily. The Sikels offer the safe slave-market to which can be sent any suppliants whom it may be convenient to betray and sell for a large price;¹ and in the same market slaves may be bought as well as sold.² Their country lies just across the mouth of the Adriatic, hardly attainable by a direct voyage across 200 miles of sea from Ithaka. But if we can suppose a coasting journey as far north as Corfu, the run to the mainland on the west is reduced to a mere fifty miles of open sea, well within the powers of the primitive mariner.

Beyond this one name we learn nothing at all of the west, at least till we reach the twenty-fourth book. There we do meet two other names—Alybas and Sikanie (304, 307). Sikanie may or may not be Sicily; Alybas may or may not be the ancient name of a town near Metapontum, as the ancients conjectured.³ But as they are mere names, we need hardly even raise the question whether this last book of the *Odyssey* does not date from a later age than the rest. And with these few names we have

¹ *Od.* xx. 383.

² *Od.* xxiv. 211.

³ ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Ἀλύβη μὲν ἢ Ἀλύβας πόλις Ἰταλίας ἢ κληθεῖσα ὕστερον, φασί, Μεταπόντιον. ἕτεροι δὲ πόλιν Θραικίαν ταύτην εἶπον.—Eust. on *Od.* xxiv. 304.

to be content; the darkness is as complete as it is near and sudden.

Surely this is a remarkable fact, and needs explanation. In the east the Achaians know all the Mediterranean from Kythera to Egypt and Syria; they have even penetrated the Euxine as far as Cape Karambis.¹ Yet in the west they seem to be shut in by a barrier like a wall not fifty miles from their own home. How can this have been? Does not the mere situation imply the existence of some active restraining force which prevented the men of Ithaka from even inquiring what there may have been on the other side of their western sea? The problem is interesting, perhaps even important, enough to justify a guess; and my guess will begin with the question, Where was Taphos, and who were the Taphians?

The Taphians are several times mentioned in the *Odyssey*. They are in the first place a race of freebooters, **ΛΗΪΣΤΟΡΕΣ ἄνδρες**. They carry on a slave-trade in the farthest east. The slave nurse who kidnapped the high-born swineherd Eumaios from his royal father's home had herself been kidnapped by Taphians near her own home in Sidon.² Eumaios in turn, though sold to slavery, had bought a slave of his own, again from the Taphians.³ Their raids upon the Thesprotians bring about trouble even to the north of Ithaka.⁴ They must have been a very

¹ *Troy*, p. 284.

² *Od.* xv. 425 ff.

³ xiv. 452.

⁴ xvi. 426.

remarkable people, these Taphians, whose hand was heavy from Sidon to Thesprotia.

But we hear more about them than this. When the goddess Athene pays her visit to Ithaka in order to arouse the slumbering energy of the young Telemachos, she chooses, in order to introduce herself without suspicion into that somewhat perilous household, the person of Mentès, king of the Taphians. Now all that she says in that capacity is of course spoken under a feigned person; but we need not hesitate to use it for that reason, any more than we need hesitate to use the various feigned stories of Odysseus; for the goddess must be supposed to know all things—at least all that was needful for her purpose; her intention is to give an air of perfect probability to all that she says—or what end would the disguise serve?—just as it is the purpose of the poet to instil into his hearers the same sense of probability. We will take it, therefore, that Athene says just what Mentès himself would have said, in other words what those who heard or read the *Odyssey* would have expected him to say.

Let us, then, go through the scene in the palace at Ithaka,¹ regarding the speaker always not as Athene, but as Mentès, leaving out what is needless for us at the moment, and giving fully all that may seem to tell us something of the Taphians and their ways.

Mentès appears (103) at the door of the palace,

¹ *Od.* i. 103-324.

and stands till Telemachos notices him, and brings him in with a friendly welcome. When the noise of the feasting suitors has come to an end, and conversation is possible, Telemachos (156), after an expression of shame and apology for the disorderly surroundings, asks Mentos, "What man art thou and whence? Where are thy town and parents? On what ship didst thou come? And how did the sailors bring thee to Ithaka? What sort of men did they claim to be? For I deem that thou didst not come on foot. And tell me this thing truly, that I may know; art thou a new visitor, or art thou a guest-friend of my father's? For many another man has been to our house, since my father was well versed in men."

"Truly I will tell thee," answers Mentos (179). "I avouch my name to be Mentos, son of sage Anchialos; and I am king of the Taphians, men that love the oar. And I am now come with my ship and crew, sailing across the wine-dark sea to men of other speech, to Temese to fetch copper, and I am laden with gleaming iron. My ship lies here, in the country away from the city, in the haven Rheithron under wooded Neion. And we claim to be guest-friends together through our fathers from the first, if thou wilt go and ask of old Laertes, who, men say, no more comes to the town, but suffers his grief apart, away on his farm. . . . And I have come because they told me that he was at home, even thy father; but it seems that the gods still hinder his

journey." Mentès goes on (196) to guess that Odysseus is still alive in some island, and prophesies that he will soon return. "But tell me this, and say truly," he continues (206), "if thou art indeed the son of very Odysseus? Strangely like him thou art in face and eyes; for we met pretty often (*εἶμα τοῖον*) until he went up against Troy, whither went the other chieftains of the Argives on their hollow ships. But since then neither have I seen Odysseus nor he me."

Telemachos unburdens his soul to the new guest-friend and bewails his helplessness in face of the overbearing suitors (213-251). This arouses Mentès' ire, and he breaks out (253) "Alack! Thou dost indeed fall short of the lost Odysseus! He would lay hands on the shameless suitors! Would that he might come this moment and stand in the outer doorway, with helm and shield and a pair of spears, such a man as when first I saw him in our home, drinking and making merry, on his homeward way from Ilos son of Mermeros in Ephyra. For even thither had Odysseus journeyed on his hollow ship, searching for deadly poison wherewith to smear his brazen arrows. But Ilos gave him none, since he feared the immortal gods; but my father gave it him, for he loved him wonderfully. Could Odysseus mingle like that with the suitors, they would all be swift in death and bitter in wooing" (266).

Mentès goes on to urge Telemachos to risk a bold step—to take ship for Pylos, and to inquire of

Nestor about his father, and thence to go on to Sparta, to Menelaos, "for he was the last of the Achaians to win home" (285). "Or hast thou not heard what fame Orestes had won throughout the world by the slaying of his father's murderer Aigisthos the crafty?" (298). And there the scene ends, with an offer of entertainment which Mentès declines on the ground that he is anxious to press on with his voyage (315). A little later the suitors inquire of Telemachos who his guest may have been, for his face is strange to them (405-411).

Now this conversation offers abundant food for reflexion. To begin with, it refutes, at once and finally, the opinion of the ancient critics as to the site of Taphos itself. Misled, as in the case of Ithaka, by a name, they located Taphos in the island which in their day bore the name of Taphius,¹ and is now known as Meganisi, the strangely shaped island with the long narrow tail, lying just east of Leukas. From Leukas it is separated by a strait only half a mile across, from Thiaki by no more than nine miles of sheltered sea. The island is quite small; its greatest length, excluding the tail of barren rock, is barely four miles. No community of pirates and merchants could maintain its independence on such a petty realm, surrounded on every side by the large and powerful Four Islands; nor could Odysseus have endured, in the heart of his kingdom, such a nest of troublesome and active freebooters. The idea becomes

¹ Ταφιοῦς (Strabo, x. 2. 14). Meineke reads Ταφιάς.

quite ridiculous when we add to it that not only Telemachos, but the whole of the suitors, are absolutely ignorant of the face of their rival king, who has lived in their midst for twenty years at least. I would sooner believe that Meges was ruler in Leukas than that Mentès was king of Meganisi.¹

But we can say more than this; we may be quite sure that Taphos was outside the Greek world altogether. Look at the way in which Mentès speaks of the Trojan War; "we met pretty often until he went up against Troy, whither went the other chieftains of the Argives on their hollow ships." Could Mentès more clearly exclude himself from the ranks of the Argive chieftains, and intimate that the Trojan War was no concern of his? Wherever we seek Taphos, it must not be in any of the regions which were drawn into the Trojan War; and we shall not allow ourselves to be deterred from this conclusion by the fact that Odysseus and Mentès are guest-friends. Guest friendships might exist at great distances, for Odysseus was the guest-friend of Idomeneus in Crete (*Od.* xix. 191); and they might exist between men of different countries, surviving even actual hostilities; for in the midst of the Trojan War Diomedes and Glaukos cease fighting and exchange gifts, on the ground that they are guest-friends, the one in Lykia, the other in midmost Argos (*Il.* vi. 215 ff.).

Now to recognize that Taphos is somewhere outside

¹ The same objections are equally fatal to the claims of Kalamos, just east of Meganisi, where Dörpfeld would place Taphos.

the range of the Trojan War at once narrows the field in which we have to seek. It practically excludes not only all Hellas, but the whole coast of the Aegean, which is duly accounted for in the Trojan Catalogue. There was no Taphos there. We need hardly trouble ourselves about the African coast. There are, it seems to me, only three regions where we can possibly look for it. One is the coast of Asia Minor running eastwards from Lykia, where the Trojan Catalogue stops. Another is the Cyclades, which the Greek Catalogue so strangely omits. And the third is in the west, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic or of southern Italy. We could narrow the possibilities down still further, if we could only ascertain for certain the position of two places of which Mentès speaks; if we could say where Ephyre was, since the road thence to Ithaka passed near Taphos—it was on his homeward road from Ephyre that Odysseus was entertained by Mentès' father—and if we could say where Temese lay—for it is on his way to Temese that Mentès stops in Ithaka to inquire the latest news of Odysseus.

But we are unhappily in the dark as to both. Ephyre is a name which is found in many parts of Greece—in more places, one is inclined to think, than ever really owned it. One was in Elis, where Strabo can locate it exactly, as on or near the site of Oinoë or Boionoa (?); that Ephyre has all the appearance of a learned conjecture founded on a line in the Boeotia, where Herakles weds Astyocheia, the mother

of Tlepolemos, "from Ephyre on the river Selleis, when he sacked many towns of men of valour." That was brought into connexion with the war against Augeias; Ephyre must have been his capital, and it follows that there must have been an Ephyre in Elis. But Strabo says that there was no river Selleis there. Another ancient Ephyre was found in the Thessalian Krannon; but that again seems to have no more basis than conjectures about the Ephyroi and Phlegyes who are once mentioned together (*Il.* xiii. 302), combined with some story that the inhabitants of the neighbouring Gyrtion were once called Phlegyes.

There remain, however, two which inspire more confidence, as there is no apparent reason why they should have been invented. One is near Sikyon, and here Strabo does know of a river Selleis, still it would seem bearing the name in his own day.¹ That will do well enough for the "Ephyre on the river Selleis" whence Phyleus of Elis received, at the hands of a guest-friend, the corslet which saved the life of his son Meges (*Il.* xv. 530). It is also, to all appearance, the mother-town of Corinth; but of that we must speak later.

There was yet another in Thesprotia, the ancient name—unfortunately one has not complete confidence in these "ancient names"—of the town of Kichyros, which was, according to Strabo, the old capital of the kings of Thesprotia.² This we shall have to keep

¹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφυρα πλησίον κώμῃ, viii. 3. 5. There is still another ἐν τῇ Ἀγραίᾳ τῆς Αἰτωλίας.

² vii. 7. 5. See also Paus. i. 17. 4, ix. 36. 3; Pind. *N.* vii. 55.

in sight; but with two Ephyrae at least in view, we cannot use either as a fixed point.

The same is unfortunately the case with Temese. There were two claimants to the representation of the Homeric town, and we cannot *a priori* dismiss either of them. One is Temesa or Tempsa, on the west coast of Bruttium, not far north of the colony of Terina. The other is far away in the east, the town of Tamassos in Cyprus.¹ We remember that Mentès was going to Temese to fetch *chalkos*, copper or bronze; and both these towns were famous for copper-mines. There is therefore little to choose as between the two. There is a slight presumption in favour of Cyprus, however; we know that it was well within the range of merchants who carried on a slave-trade in Phenicia, and it was of course the oldest known source of copper in prehistoric times; the fame of Tempsa seems to date from a later age.² But we may for the moment leave the question open. If Taphos were, as I have suggested among the possibilities, somewhere on the Cilician coast, we should understand the trading with Sidon; but then if Mentès passed Ithaka on his way to Temese for copper, he must be going to the Italian Tempsa, and that he would certainly not do with the mines of Cyprus

¹ Called Temesae (or-e) by Statius, *Ach.* i. 413.

² I am confirmed in this belief by Mr. Peet's silence about Tempsa when he has occasion to consider the sources of the bronze found in Sicily. He considers that it most likely came, through some Minoan agency, from Cyprus, adding "unfortunately we do not know at what date the Italian copper-mines, much used in later times, began to be worked" (*Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 281).

right in face of him. Nor can we conceive any site for Ephyra which would bring Odysseus to Cilicia on his way home to Ithaka. So the south coast of Asia Minor may be safely excluded.

There is more to be said for one of the Cyclades. We must remember that Mentès is not only seeking copper, but is carrying iron to barter for it. And there is a good deal of iron ore in the Cyclades.

If that ore were being carried to the Italian Tempe, Ithaka would certainly be on the way; for ships would unquestionably run up the western coast of Greece till they came to the narrow point where they could cross the mouth of the Adriatic and turn south-westward. And we might endeavour to smother our doubts about the Thessalian Ephyre, the later Krannon, and say that Odysseus in returning from Thessaly might well have stopped on his way at one of the Cyclades. The central position of the islands would account for the wide range of Taphian trade. But I will merely say that this view may be supported without absurdity; I do not support it myself, for I think I have something better to propose.

The real interest of the inquiry centres in Mentès' cargo of iron. The Homeric world is just beginning to use iron—at present only for small tools. Whence did the iron come? That is a question of great importance for the anthropologist, more especially if the answer implies connexion between prehistoric Greece and distant lands.

Greece is a land which is fairly rich in iron ores;

but it has never been, in historical times, a great iron-working country. Iron is found in the following districts:¹ In Lakonia, which seems to have been the chief seat of the ancient iron trade; at Laurion, where the more valuable veins of lead and silver caused it to be neglected; in Euboea, where there were ancient workings at Chalkis and on Ocha; in Skyros; in Andros, with large ancient workings; in Syros, Keos, Kythnos, Seriphos—the last island actually exported ores to Wallsend in 1874, and is by far the richest source in all Greece. But none of the Greek workings could compete with those of Elba, largely no doubt on account of the cost of fuel; and Greece was always an importing rather than a producing country. In early days there can be no doubt that iron first came from outside. The conditions in the present case seem to exclude the Chalybes on the Euxine; and as it is too early to think either of Elba or Spain, we are forced to look to the northern part of the Adriatic, whence, it would seem, the iron of Carniola was shipped southwards in early days. In any case we may feel sure that Mentès did not get his cargo from any Greek mine; he must have obtained it either at some distant place of production, or himself have controlled some emporium whither it was brought to him. And there is one place which seems destined by nature to be the emporium of trade between the Adriatic and the Greek world. It is the island of

¹ I follow Neumann-Partsch, *Phys. Geog. von Griech.* pp. 229 ff.

Corfu. And I ask if Taphos, the kingdom of Mentès, may not be the island of Corfu.¹

It will of course at once be objected that Corfu is already appropriated; it cannot be Taphos, the realm of Mentès, because it is Scherie, the realm of Alkinoos. That has always been the cherished dream of the Corfiotes, and has been accepted as a certain fact by those who think, with M. Victor Bérard, that they can find in the real world all the scenes of Odysseus' wanderings, whether the knowledge of them be gathered from sailors' tales, or from a Phœnician portulano, imperfectly understood by Homer. To me, I confess, these theories do not appeal. The more I grow convinced that Homer's geography is real, the more I feel sure that Odysseus' wanderings are in fairyland; and in fairyland Scherie undoubtedly is.

Let us test its position by the geographical arguments which appeal to M. Bérard. And first it is necessary to realize that Corfu is in sight of Leukas and Cephalonia—far away on the horizon, it is true, but still in sight. But from Thesprotia, whither the men of Odysseus' time commonly resort, whether to buy poisons, or on a holier errand to the oracle of Dodona—from Thesprotia, from the harbour where

¹ I do not know if the suggestion has ever been made before; probably it has been, and I have no desire to claim priority. The nearest approach to it with which I am acquainted is Mr. Allen's; he makes a step in the right direction when he suggests Paxos. But that is not far enough, and the rugged little island is inadequate for the support of a mercantile and aggressive community. It is quite overshadowed by its big neighbour Corfu. It is some 3 miles long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and is in fact smaller than Meganisi itself.

they land, Corfu is distant only 20 miles or so, and takes up a large portion of the north-western horizon. The Phaeacians, we hear, dwell "apart from grain-eating men" (*Od.* vi. 8), "away in the weltering sea" (204). Corfu is separated from the mainland by a strait varying from two to fifteen miles in width. Odysseus is brought to Scherie by the steady north wind (v. 385); then to Corfu he must have come from the Adriatic, not from M. Bérard's Parsley Island in the straits of Gibraltar. And surely when Odysseus, at the opening of the ninth Book, describes his realm in such detail, the Phaeacians must have smiled to themselves, and thought "we know all this as well as you; the islands you are describing can be seen, if you only knew it, from the hill that lies above us, and we cannot take a single journey southwards without passing through the midst of your kingdom." And it needed no magic Phaeacian ship, finding its own way without help of helm or helmsman (*Od.* viii. 558), and capable of making the voyage to Euboea and back in the day (vii. 321), to carry Odysseus for the 60 miles or so which formed a fair day's run for an ordinary human crew.

No; if we take our measure from earthly maps, Corfu is not Scherie. But Scherie has its place in the map of poetry and fancy; and there I believe that it can be identified. Is it not Homer's name for Plato's Atlantis? And if we want some connexion with the real world, let us think of the ingenious and attractive idea which finds in Atlantis

a recollection of the lost glories of the Minoan empire,¹ and consider whether the Phaeacians who, in Nausikaa's words, "care not for bow and arrow, but only for masts and oars and ships," may not fairly remind us of the men of Knossos, who, secure in the rule of the sea, never cared to fortify their palace by the shore?

But if Corfu is not Scherie, it will indeed be strange that so fair and famous an island should never be named in Homer. Let us then at least give fair play to the possibility that it may be Taphos, and see how that suggestion meets the conditions of the problem.

That Corfu is perfectly adapted to support an independent realm, well equipped with all the requisites for self-defence and foreign enterprise, is too obvious to need argument. Corinth learnt it to her cost; the colony which was to hold for her the route to the west had only been in existence a short

¹ This interesting and important suggestion was first made in an anonymous article in the *Times*, Jan. 19, 1909. The authorship of that article has now been acknowledged, and the theme expanded, by Mr. K. T. Frost, in *J.H.S.*, xxxiii. 189 ff., "The *Critias* and Minoan Crete." It has been remarked already that the description of the various Islands of the Blest which appear in the folk-tales of many lands almost always corresponds closely to the account of the island of the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*.

A definite connexion between Scherie and Crete seems to be suggested by the story that the Phaeacians had once taken Rhadamanthys in their ships to Euboea,

τὴν περ τηλοτάτην φάς' ἔμμεναι οὔ μιν ἴδοντο
λαῶν ἡμετέρων, ὅτε τε ξανθὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν
ἦγον ἐποψόμενον Τιτυόν, Γαίηϊόν υἱόν.

Od. vii. 322.

The northern extremity of Euboea at the Pagasaeon Gulf marks the farthest point to which Minoan culture penetrated.

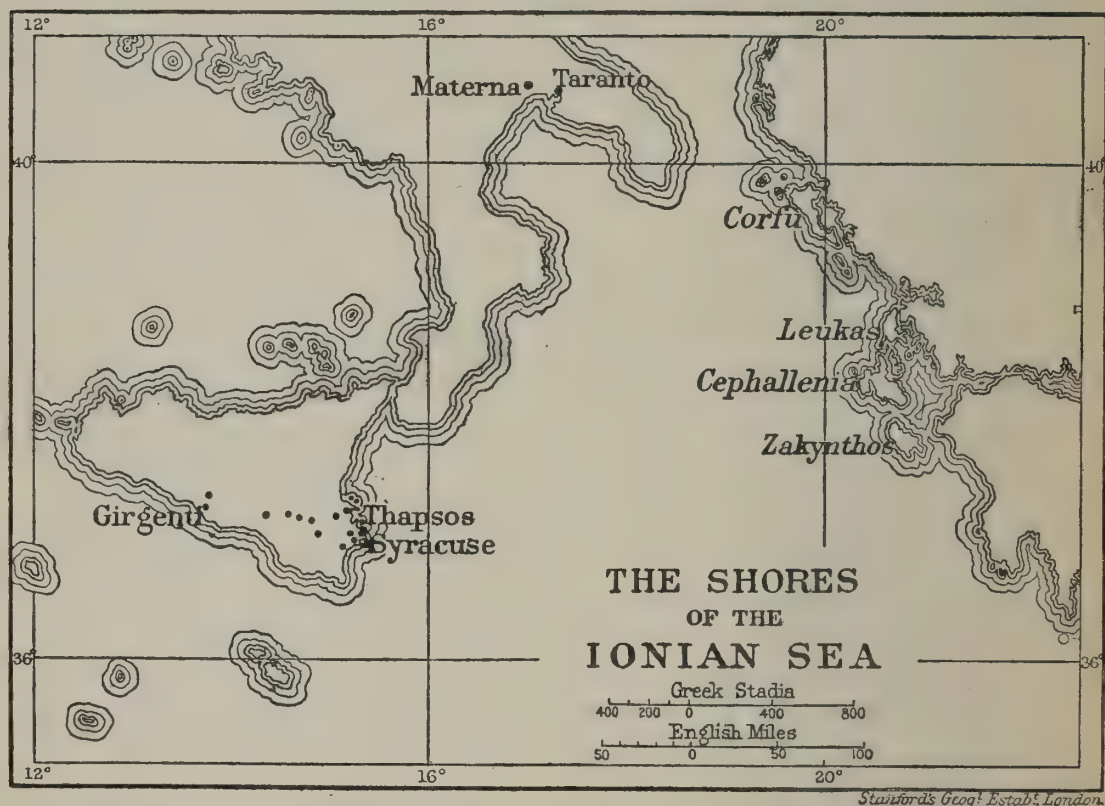
time when Corcyra was able to assert itself on equal terms against the mother-country. Corfu is in fact an exceptionally favoured island. It is not so large as Cephalonia, yet in 1907 it supported a population of close on 100,000, while Cephalonia had only 71,000; yet the Corfiotes are regarded as among the idlest, while the Cephalonians are among the most active, of the Greek islanders. Nature has in fact been almost too bountiful to the fortunate island.

It is fortunate not only in the richness of its fertile soil and varied and beautiful surface, where every kind of timber tree flourishes, but even more in its position. The mouth of the Adriatic, a little way north of Corfu, has narrowed to only 40 miles. The shores of the Ionian Sea, southwards of the narrow strait, diverge so rapidly that the length of the run across to Italy, which at the northern end of Corfu is still only 60 miles, has increased by the time we reach Leukas, where the next good harbourage is to be found, to no less than 180.¹ To the early navigator, sailing as a rule only by day, and fearing to venture out of sight of land, this makes all the difference between safety and impossibility. Sixty miles is just a day's run in favourable circumstances, and the hills of Italy will be well in view before those of Corfu are lost. But the run from Leukas to Crotona takes two days and a night, and for the

¹ The straight run from Lesbos to Geraistos across the Aegean is rather less, and never goes out of sight of land; yet we find Nestor and his friends hesitating to venture on it (*Od.* iii. 169).

greater part of the way land is entirely out of sight. Hence, so long as it is bound to the coast, all traffic by sea must needs pass by Corfu.¹

Its position, at the point where the routes from the north diverged, south-east to Greece, south-west



to Italy and Sicily, made it an ideal emporium for the trade of the Adriatic to all the regions of the

¹ The sketch-map of the basin of the Ionian Sea illustrates the commanding position of Corfu over any coasting trade direct from Greece to southern Italy and Sicily. The black dots mark the sites where Mycenaean influence has so far been discovered in the latter regions. For Sicily I have copied the "Second Siculan" sites from Peet's Map IV., though it is only at the coast sites that Mycenaean pottery has been found (Peet, *Stone and Bronze Age*, p. 462); adding also Taranto and Matera from his Map III. In both the latter cases the evidence points to no more than trade—only sherds were found, without any proof that the culture was, as in Sicily, materially affected. Peet's general conclusion (*ibid.* p. 514) is "that the evidence for Mycenaean influence in Italy is rather slender. It is

Mediterranean area.¹ It was not, of course, possible for Corfu to block the mouth of the Adriatic as Troy blocked the mouth of the Hellespont; ships passing along the Italian coast could evade Corfu itself; but they had to run the risk of falling in with the cruisers which, we may guess, were on the watch at least to make the passage dangerous, if they could not prohibit it entirely, to the merchantmen of other lards. The Taphians had the reputation, as we have seen, of pirates, "robber men." But in those days the border between piracy and commerce was not sharply drawn, and the question put to unknown visitors, "Are you a pirate?"² shews that freebooters were not, as they are to-day, outlaws from the community of nations. But one may suspect that the "piracy" of the Taphians was the expression of their determination to keep a monopoly of the carrying trade. It was, in fact, an early form of the true

beyond doubt that the south-east corner of the peninsula carried on a considerable trade with the Mycenaean Aegaeon, and if the Torcello vases can be trusted this trade must have been continued up to the north shores of the Adriatic. Beyond this and the fact that Sicily fell strongly under Mycenaean influence little can be said." It will be seen at once from the map how strongly the distribution of sites suggests that the communication of Sicily in the late Mycenaean period was with the south-west, and that trade spread thence to Taranto, and not *vice versa*. The conclusion I draw is that it was the Phenicians on the African coast who at this period carried on the traffic between Crete and Sicily, and that there was no direct communication from Greece westward with the Italian peninsula. We may recognize the possibility also that fugitives from Minoan Crete may have fled to Sicily and settled there after the fall of Knossos. The remains are, however, not purely Minoan in character as they should be in such a case.

¹ "Corfu, ancient Kerkyra, the most important of the Ionian islands, may be considered the key of the Adriatic, and from its position has had a chequered political existence; it was formerly a much-prized Venetian position" (*M.P.* iii. 280).

² *Od.* iii. 73, ix. 254; *Thuc.* i. 5.

Protectionist theory ; and one can imagine a Taphian, if reproached with it, replying that they were not pirates, but merely imposed a tax of 100 per cent. in kind on all goods passing up the straits in foreign bottoms.

It was, of course, under the circumstances, most important that they should have some sort of a treaty with their neighbours in the archipelago which formed the first stage on their south-eastern route ; the guest-friendship of Mentès and his father with Odysseus was no doubt in the nature of a bargain ; “ if you will let traffic pass on to us, and not interfere with our ships, we will not harry your coasts, and leave your ships in peace.” It may or may not have been expressed that the Ithakan ships should not attempt to penetrate beyond Taphos itself ; but that must certainly have been enforced.

Now that our hypothesis has proceeded so far, we are in a position to explain all the details of the conversation between Mentès and Telemachos. The merchant king, whose ships sail all the way to Syria, is of course well posted in all that is happening in Greece. He can tell Telemachos not only of the return of Menelaos, but of the vengeance of Orestes, still recent history. He is on a voyage with iron, which has come down to his mart from the ends of the Adriatic, and is carrying it to Temese to barter it for copper. Temese, therefore, is in Cyprus, for Ithaka is not on the way from Taphos to the Italian Tempsa ; to get there he would sail straight across to

the Italian coast, while Ithaka lies in exactly the opposite direction. Our *prima facie* evidence in favour of Cyprus is therefore justified. The men of Cyprus are "men of other speech," but it will be time to found an argument on that when we know what were the native tongues of Taphos and Cyprus in Homeric days. The probability is that neither island spoke Greek.

We have even less difficulty in choosing our Ephyre. It is the Thesprotian, the later Kichyros. Thither Odysseus had gone up to get poison for his arrows; and thence, too, the suitors expect, or pretend to expect, that Telemachos will provide himself with poison to get rid of them (*Od.* ii. 328). But Odysseus received a severe moral rebuke; his host at Ephyre, Ilos son of Mermeros, refused to give him the drugs, for he dreaded the anger of the gods. Odysseus, baffled but, unfortunately for his reputation, unabashed, reaches the port of Ephyre on his way home, and there, some 20 miles away to the north-west, he sees the hills of Taphos. He determines to have another attempt, and goes that much out of his direct way home, to the court of Anchialos, Mentès' father. Perhaps it is to be understood that Anchialos, not being a Greek like Ilos, worshipped less stringent deities; perhaps, being a little farther off and on the borders of the unknown world, he was, if one may so say, "east of Suez"; for east of Suez, as we know, the moral code undergoes a radical change. At all events Anchialos allows his affection

for Odysseus to triumph over any moral scruples he may have felt, and Odysseus is rewarded for this little deviation from his journey by receiving the coveted but shameful gift. And this was the first occasion on which Mentès saw and admired the famous hero.

There is not, I think, a single point left in the story of Mentès to detain or puzzle us; all fits in exactly. That a theory should fit is surely something in Homeric problems; but may we not go a step further and say that some such theory is imperatively demanded? That the whole *Odyssey* should contain no note of anything Italian save the one name of the Sikels—this is to me conclusive proof that they were hindered from sailing west by some opposing force. And that force must have been planted in the island of Corfu. Only there could an effectual notice, "No Trespassers," be set up; but if it were set up and enforced, it was final; there was no getting round it. There was provided by the goodness of nature all that was needed for an independent and active community to hold its own against any merely local rivals, and to keep in its hands all the commerce, still nascent no doubt, of Italy and the Adriatic. And such a race is presented to us in the bold merchants and freebooters of Taphos, whose ships sail aggressively to the farthest east, capturing slaves in Phenicia and making victorious raids in Thesprotia.

Traffic in the west, however, was no doubt, as I

have said, still only nascent. In the east it was highly developed; and in the east the Achaians also found themselves barred again by a whole line of powers. But on this side the great and obvious prizes were to be won, and it was to the opening of the east that the Achaians devoted their whole strength. The Tale of Troy was the story of this great effort, directed against the very centre of the position. The victory was won, but at the cost of the exhaustion of the people who had won it. Of this exhaustion the *Odyssey* gives us the picture, and tradition tells us that it was followed in two or three generations by the downfall of the whole Achaian power. Perhaps at the fall of Troy the more far-sighted—Odysseus surely leading them—said, “Now is the turn of Taphos.” But it was too late for that, and so far as we know the fall of Taphos did not come through any attack from the Achaians. More likely Taphos and the Achaians fell together in the advance of the new tribes always pressing down from the north. That has served us to account for the telescoping of the realm of Odysseus, and we may discern signs of the same fate for the Taphians. They, too, seem to have been driven southwards, and carried their name with them. Thus it came about that the island of Meganisi was in Strabo’s day still called Taphius, “the Taphians’ Island.” Here some of them must have rested from their flight. But others pressed farther on, and reached the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth;

for here again in Aetolia, just by the straits, we find a Mount Taphiassos, with the ancient termination so widely spread over the Aegean area. Others again must have founded in Kephallenia the town of Taphos, "now," as Stephanos tells us, "called Taphioussa." Here the Taphian name survives to this day; near the extreme western point of the island there is a monastery called Taphiós, lying under a hill called Táphion Oros.¹

Here, then, with this last faint trace, we must leave a people who may have done something to turn the tide of history. For if there had been no one to hinder them from gaining any knowledge of what lay beyond the Ionian Sea, would not the Achaians have chosen to expand first in the direction of least resistance, to throw themselves not upon Troy but upon Taphos, and instead of the wealth of the Euxine, to seek for the wealth of Italy and Sicily? If they had known! But the knowledge was withheld from Greece till the Achaian Empire had passed away.

¹ "Am Kloster Taphiós stützen antike Gräberfunde den Glauben an das hohe Alter des Ortsnamens," Partsch, "Kephallenia," in *Pet. Mitth. Ergänzungsb.* 21, p. 91.

CHAPTER VI

THE REALM OF AGAMEMNON

THE extent of Agamemnon's rule is told us explicitly in the famous "Transmission of the Sceptre" (*Il.* ii. 100-108). The Sceptre of Kingship was made by Hephaistos and by him given to Zeus, who passed it on to Hermes. By him it was placed in mortal hands; he entrusted it to Pelops the charioteer, and Pelops handed it to Atreus. Atreus when dying left it to Thyestes, and Thyestes in turn bequeathed it to Agamemnon, "to be king in many islands and in all Argos."

"Many islands and all Argos." He is king over land and sea, from Crete to Ithaka. He is no mere *primus inter pares*, but a supreme monarch. And the heart of his realm is Argos.

The name of Argos is one which occurs, of course, in many parts of Greece. The problem of its use is, for our purpose, somewhat simplified when we notice that the much discussed Pelasgian Argos, the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος of *Il.* ii. 681, is not a Homeric term, but occurs only in the Catalogue. The Homeric uses of the name may be classed under four heads.

(1) In two passages only it is used of a town, the town which has preserved its name through all history to the present day. The two places are *Il.* iv. 52, "Ἀργός τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκῆνη;" and *Od.* xxi. 108, οὔτε Πύλου ἱερῆς οὔτ' Ἀργεος οὔτε Μυκῆνης.

(2) It is commonly used of the whole Argolic plain, especially as the home of Agamemnon: *Il.* i. 30, ii. 115, iv. 171, ix. 22, xiii. 379. Diomedes, too, dwells in this "midmost Argos," *Il.* vi. 224, xiv. 119, *Od.* iii. 180; and Eurystheus and Herakles, *Il.* xix. 115, xv. 30. Aigisthos also lives μύχῳ Ἀργεος ἵπποβότοιο, *Od.* iii. 263. And this is of course the Argos to which Melampus flees from Pylos, *Od.* xv. 224-239. To Argos in this sense the expression πολυδίψιον (*Il.* iv. 171) is specially applicable; the larger portion of the plain, though ravaged and channelled by the torrents of winter is, in its upper parts, waterless throughout the summer. But the more common ἵππόβοτον is no less appropriate. For in the pools which fringe the marshy land along the southern shore brood mares can still be seen from the train plashing with their colts through the rank grass; and with this fact falls to pieces a whole tissue of theory which assumes that a "horse-breeding Argos" must be in Thessaly.

(3) Argos is used of southern Greece, particularly the Peloponnese, in contrast to northern Greece, the dominion of Peleus. This is seen particularly in the phrase ἀν' [καθ'] Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἀργος, *Od.* i. 344,

iv. 726, 816, xv. 80, the equivalent of "from Dan to Beersheba." But it is equally unmistakable in *Od.* iv. 174, 562. And it seems to be implied also in the phrase "Ιακόν Ἄργος, *Od.* xviii. 246, which still remains unexplained.¹

(4) Argos means Greece as a whole, including both northern and southern. It certainly includes the home of Achilles in *Il.* xix. 329, *Od.* xxiv. 37. This wide use is the commonest. Instances of it will be found in *Il.* vi. 456, vii. 363, xii. 70, xiii. 227, xiv. 70, xxiv. 437. Correlative to this is the use of Argeioi as the national name, covering not only the ruling caste, the Achaians, but all their men, most of whom are from the older population; it is the Homeric name for "Greek."

There remain only two or three phrases which need special mention. One is the "Achaian Argos," which occurs four times, *Il.* ix. 141, 283 ("Ἄργος Ἀχαικὸν οὔθεα Ἀρούρης), xix. 115, *Od.* iii. 251. All these evidently belong to Argos as the immediate realm of Agamemnon, No. 2. But the case is not so clear in the phrase "Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιῖδα καλλιγύναϊκα, *Il.* iii. 75, 258. At first sight one would be inclined to equate this to the Odyssean "Argos and Hellas," making Achaiis mean northern Greece. But in *Od.* xxi. 107 κατ' Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν is defined by the mention of Pylos, Argos and Mykene, and there at least includes the Peloponnesos; and in

¹ Possibly it is of Cretan origin; for Iasios is one of the "Idaeon Daktyls" who came from Crete to Olympia, Paus. v. 7. 6.

Il. xi. 770 Ἀχαιίς covers all the lands where the Achaians were. It would seem, therefore, that the single phrase in *Il.* iii. 75, 258 must be regarded as a pleonasm; the Achaian land is the same as Argos, and both of them mean Greece as a whole. The only remaining occurrence of the name which causes any serious difficulty is in *Il.* vi. 152, where Sisyphos dwells in Ephyre, μύχῳ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότῳ. That problem has to be discussed separately, when we come to deal with this particular town of Ephyre.

The gradual expansion of the name exemplified in the stages from (2) to (4) is familiar enough, and we need not leave home to seek a parallel. "England" was originally the name of the district settled by the Angles, and still known as East Anglia. Thence it spread to the whole of the country now properly called England; and thence again, in common speech, it is further extended to include the whole United Kingdom, so that when we speak of the "English Army" we by no means intend to exclude Scots and Irish.

When, therefore, we are told that Agamemnon is king "of all Argos" we are bidden to take the name in the widest possible sense; Agamemnon is king of all Greece, including the realm of Peleus in Hellas and Phthia, as well as that of Odysseus in the west and Idomeneus in the east, with all the islands that lie about. We conclude with Thucydides that his position was one of real supremacy, not, as some

thought, the mere presidency of a league formed for a special purpose.¹

But the heart of his kingdom was in the Argolic plain, commanded by his palace-fortress at Mykene. We will pause to consider more closely the centre of the Achaian power.

The plain of Argos was in classical days singularly rich in legend. In this wealth no other part of Greece, except perhaps Thebes, can compare with it. It is enough to recall a few of the names which are bound up with its mythical history—Palamedes, Danaos and the Danaides, Danae and Perseus, Herakles and Eurystheus, Adrastos and Amphiaraos, and greatest of all, the house of Pelops with its long and gloomy story. It is noticeable that some of these names are common to Thebes and Argolis; Herakles, for instance, was quite as much born at Thebes as at Tiryns, and Amphiaraos is as much a figure of Theban as of Argive legend.

This points to a very early settlement and a long history for these two districts. And the reason for this is not far to seek. For those who come from the south-east five sea-gates lead into the interior plains of Greece—the Messenian, Laconian, Argolic and Saronic Gulfs, and the channel of the Euripos. All are approached by easy and sheltered routes from

¹ Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προύχων καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρειω ὄρκοις κατειλημμένους τοὺς Ἑλένης μνηστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι, i. 9. Compare the views of E. Meyer in *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. pp. 169, 188; *e.g.* "Auch sonst ist Agamemnon in den älteren Bestandtheilen der Ilias überall der Herrscher über ganz Griechenland . . . die übrigen Fürsten sind weit mehr seine Vasallen als seine Verbündeten."

Crete; but they vary greatly in their attractions for the immigrant. The Messenian and Laconian gulfs lead indeed to fertile land; but it is away from the centre of Greece and cut off from it by high and rough hills. The Saronic Gulf has at its head the Thriasian plain; but that is small, and elsewhere the shores open on hills and stony districts which an immigrant, with the whole land before him, prefers to leave to the labour of the primitive populations who earn from them a hard-won living.

With the Argolic Gulf and the Euripos channel the case is different. The plains of Argolis and Thebes are rich enough, at least for Greece, to reward the cultivator; and both command routes in every direction. Thus it is that, though each of the gulfs has at or near its head evidence of settlement from Crete, yet it is at Mykene and Tiryns on the Argolic Gulf and at Thebes and Orchomenes by the Euripos, that the Cretan colonists established themselves on a scale beside which the Mycenaean remains of Kampos, of Athens and Eleusis, and even Vaphio, are insignificant.

The legendary history alike of Thebes and Argolis is an echo of the introduction into Greece of the Minoan culture. Each district has its hero, who brought the first knowledge of the higher life. In Thebes he is called Kadmos, in Argolis he is Palamedes. Neither is named by Homer,¹ but both held

¹ Kadmos, as father of the sea-goddess Ino, in *Od.* v. 333, is too shadowy to be identified; but of course Kadmos was a sea-king.

their place in popular memory, and Palamedes was even introduced shyly into the Trojan War, though he had to be slain at the very beginning, before the opening of the *Iliad*. To bring him to Troy at all was indeed a flagrant violation of historical perspective, for he is the very oldest name of Argolis, older even than Inachos or Danaos. His home is at Nauplia, the landing-place of the newcomers. Here his name has been preserved, apparently by unbroken tradition, in the Palamedion, the rocky fortress which dominates the town and harbour. It was at Nauplia that he introduced letters, as his double Kadmos did at Thebes—the script of Minoan Crete; and when we hear, among other things, that he invented the game of draughts, *πεσσοί*, we cannot but think of the magnificent gaming-board which is one of the most wonderful treasures of the palace of Knossos.

The plain of Argos itself forms, roughly speaking, an isosceles triangle, the two long sides, on the east and west, being formed by rugged and difficult hills, the shorter southern base being the sea-shore from Lerna to Nauplia. Rugged and difficult though the hills are, it is the shore which forms the most effective boundary, and, unlike most of Greece, it is the sea which really isolates Argos. For except at one spot the shore itself is occupied by marshes, and the seabottom, soft and muddy, slopes so gradually that the depth of water necessary for navigation is only to be found at some distance out. Thus it is that Argolis, in spite of appearances, is really an inland territory;

and in this fact we may find the cause of the generally helpless and undignified attitude of Argos during the whole of the classical period of Greek history. As soon as Sparta had really come to her own, Argos, with the strong and selfish Corinth to the north, was between the upper and the nether millstone, for the nature of her shore prevented any effective co-operation, either offensive or defensive, with her natural allies outside. How keenly this was felt during the Peloponnesian War is made clear by the events of the year 417, when Argos, freed from the trammels of the thirty years' peace with Sparta, was endeavouring to throw off the domination of her hated neighbour by alliance with Athens. That alliance could only be effective if Argos could secure constant communication by sea; and this the Athenians well knew. At their instance, therefore, the Argives made an effort to connect their city with the nearest point of the shore at Temenion by long walls, such as the Athenians knew by experience to be the essential condition for the creation of a navy. The attempt had hardly been begun when the Spartans by a sudden invasion put it to an end once and for all; and from that day Argos, though a hearty ally, could render Athens but little real help.¹

Probably the Spartan invasion counted for less than the inherent difficulties of the task; it does not seem that even an impregnable system of walls could ever have made a naval port out of Temenion.

¹ Thuc. v. 82, 83.

Temenion stood indeed on the one spot of solid ground in the whole distance between Nauplia and Lerna, and it is said that the remains of an ancient mole are still to be traced there.¹ But so slowly does the water deepen even here that the harbour can hardly have been meant for anything better than fishing-boats; and there is, so far as I am aware, no single mention of Temenion as a port in the whole of Greek history. The site is now occupied by the public slaughter-house—a sure sign that it is not considered suitable ground for habitation.

The only outlet on the sea is, in fact, Nauplia. This has great merits, in its own way, as a port; but in the classical period it seems to have been but little used. Its great drawback was that it stood on the opposite side of the plain from the capital; no connexion by fortification was possible, and though Nauplia may doubtless have served for the exportation of produce, it seems to have been worthless for war or politics. The measure of its insignificance may be found in the paucity of allusion to it in literature. The name does not occur either in Homer or the Catalogue, though the latter mentions almost every place in the neighbourhood known to us. Euripides in the *Orestes*² just mentions it as the port by which Menelaos returns to Argos; whether this may be taken as indicating that it was still used in his day I am not sure; it may be

¹ See Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. p. 303.

² 53, 242, 369. There is a casual mention also in *Electra*, 453.

equally meant for a touch of antiquity. Herodotos speaks of it once (vi. 76). When the Spartan Kleomenes invaded Argos, he first attacked from the west; but on reaching the Erasinos the omens forbade him to cross it. He thereupon retired with his army to Thyrea, and boldly transported his men to Nauplia, thus outflanking at once the Argives and the gods. It would appear from this that the Argives did not think their one port worth even so much fortification as would protect it against a sudden raid. Xenophon alludes to it casually, as a place which could be sacked by light-armed troops while the Spartan army was engaged in a serious task, the siege of Argos.¹ And there the history of Nauplia ends, so far as the classical period is concerned. Thucydides is as silent as Homer. Strabo speaks of it as a naval station, **ναύσταθμον**, which it can hardly have been at any time. In his day it must have been decaying, for when Pausanias comes to it, it is in ruins. It never became important till the Crusades, when the conditions of navigation had changed. Genoese and Venetian men of war and merchantmen could ride in its waters, and found it a valuable landing-place for their traffic, peaceful or otherwise, with the Morea. Its importance was greatly increased by the advent of gunpowder; for the immensely strong rock of the Palamidi could then command the anchorage, so that it became a frequent battle-ground between the Venetians and Turks. It was the capture of the

¹ *Hell.* iv. 7. 6.

Palamidi by surprise which formed the first substantial gain of the Greeks in the war of independence, and the little town was for some years the capital of the new state. Nauplia has been important since about A.D. 1200; it was probably important before 1200 B.C., when it was one of the gateways for the civilization of Greece; but for the intervening 2400 years its history has been insignificant.

Thus it is that Argos has always been, for political purposes, almost as much an inland country as Arcadia; its only communications have been by land. And the important centres of population and military force have been chosen for the sake of these communications. There are three of them—Tiryns, Mykene, and Argos itself. The oldest of them, Tiryns, had indeed an obvious relation with the sea; it is built, as usual, not on the sea-shore, but at a distance of some two miles from Nauplia, the approach to which it was clearly intended to cover. That was in the early days of Nauplia, when it still served for communication with Crete.

But I fancy that it was not only for the sake of the port at Nauplia that the fortress of Tiryns was built so strong. For the defence of the landing-place it would have been enough, perhaps, to fortify Nauplia itself—not of course the Palamidi, which, under early conditions, was quite unsuitable, but the rocky promontory on which the modern town stands. This, one would think, was quite capable of defence in the hands of Mycenaean builders. It has one great

defect—that it has no water, and the supply has to be brought from a considerable distance; but one is hardly at liberty to use that argument till the water-supply of Tiryns has been discovered; I have not heard that either spring or well has yet been found within the circuit of the walls.

The reason for placing Tiryns where it stands, on its little hillock near the edge of the marsh, is, I think, to be found in the fact that it covers not only the landing-place at Nauplia but the road to Epidauros, and with it all the approaches to the Argolic peninsula from the south-east.

The Argolic peninsula is as rich in harbours as the western shore of the Argolic Gulf is poor. Mases, Hermione, the sheltered haven behind Calauria, Epidauros—all these are excellent harbours. The best of them, to judge from later history, was Epidauros, for this had the easiest connexion with the hinterland, including the plain of Argolis itself. But the inland communication of all of them lay right under the walls of Tiryns. Nothing could pass between them and Argolis without coming clearly within sight and striking distance of the great walls of the citadel. Tiryns thus reveals itself as the fortress of settlers whose first object is to keep complete command of all the many lines of communication with their old home in the south-east, in Crete and, as a most important stepping-stone, in Melos, which lies right on the path, and must surely have served as an indispensable half-way house.

As Tiryns completely covers the south-eastern exit from the Argolic plain, so Mykene completely covers the northern. There is no way out between them; no path of practical importance seems ever to have crossed the tangled and barren hill system of the Arachnaean mountains, nor indeed can there well have been one, for this district has always been destitute of towns, and it is not likely to have been inhabited by any but goatherds. It is a blank on the map. But from the north of the plain, the acute apex of the isosceles triangle, two roads led to the isthmus, and both of these were completely commanded by Mykene. The most important, that of the Tretos pass via Kleonai, lay directly under the fortress walls; while the other, only a mountain path, which ran farther eastwards towards Tenea, though out of sight of Mykene itself, was covered by a line of watch-towers, the remains of which are still visible.

Now the occupation and fortification of Mykene implies a complete revolution in the position of the settlers in the plain. They are no longer concerned primarily with their communications to the south-east; their dominant thought is to keep open their connexion, by way of the isthmus, with northern Greece. In other words, there is now a power in northern Greece which has to be taken into account, whether as friend or foe, while Crete has become of secondary interest. The settlers have become a continental power instead of an offshoot from the

islands; and to the north-east Orchomenos and Thebes have equally been established as independent states of kindred blood. It is only when the Minoan civilization has been thus solidly founded both in Boeotia and Argolis that Mykene is worth fortifying.

But there are communications with the south-west to be thought of too; we must turn our attention to the third fortress of the plain, to Argos.

The long western side of the isosceles triangle is more penetrable than the eastern. Two paths, hill-paths indeed, but in constant use, because they led to the fertile Arcadian plain, crossed eastwards from Mantinea.¹ Another, farther south, led from Tegea across Mt. Parthenios, reaching the sea near the Lernaean marsh; while still farther south there was a road from Sparta across the range of Parnon, debouching at Thyrea in the district of Kynuria. The outlets of all these roads from the south and west were covered by Argos.

Argos possessed, in its steep and lofty acropolis, the Larissa, what is obviously the strongest natural fortress in the whole plain. But that was a doubtful blessing. Impregnable citadels are not imperial, but municipal. They induce a sense of reliance on passive defence which is fatal to striking power. Athens marked the opening of her imperial career by abandoning the fortifications on her Acropolis, and, dedicating it to the gods, came down to the plain to

¹ They are called Prinos and Klimax by Pausanias (ii. 25, 1); see the description in Frazer's note, vol. iii. 215.

defend herself by the Long Walls and the Peiraeus. Sparta consciously based her strength on an open town. So did Knossos. The towns of the Mycenaean age were all chosen for their accessibility, not for inaccessibility. Troy was on a low hillock; so was Tiryns. Orchomenos was in the plain, Thebes on a plateau hardly raised above it. Mykene lay indeed among the hills, and was guarded in the rear by steep ravines; but in front she looked right over the road, divided from it only by gentle slopes, now traversed by a carriage road. If the Larissa of Argos was held in Mycenaean times at all, it was not held by folk with Mycenaean ideas.

But Argos was the natural market-place of the Argolid, and was in all probability always the chief centre of population. Tiryns and Mykene were royal castles; the towns which lay beneath them were hardly more than the appanage such as a court always brings under its wings. Argos, at the meeting of the roads, was a real town, as it has remained to this day. But it was not, in the military sense at least, a capital. In post-Homeric days it became to all intents and purposes a subject of Sparta, so soon as Sparta had, after a desperate struggle, which both sides felt to be vital, secured the possession of Kynuria. Thus holding the farther end of the pass across Parnon, the Spartans had a door into Argolis always open, and could at their pleasure march in and crush Argos, so soon as any dangerous signs of independence shewed themselves. In the same way Mykene, hold-

ing the other entrance to the plain, had Argos in subjection. Any one who has stood on the top of Mykene and looked over the plain, with the Larissa in the distance, must have felt that here was the command of Argolis. Lying in the midst of its web, the Arachnaion Oros, "Spider Mountain," Mykene was in a position to pounce on any hapless fly which should rashly make its way into the domain of the lurking king.

It has been said that Tiryns and Mykene could not have existed together; that there was not room in Argolis for two such fortresses. If the meaning is that there was no room for the two under independent rulers, that is certainly true. It is equally true of Argos; while Mykene was in strong hands, there was no room either for Argos or Tiryns in any others. But Tiryns and Argos alike had their place as outposts of the main fortress; they gave the king who ruled the three complete dominion over the whole plain and its communications in every direction, to north, west, south and east. He himself sits at the central point, dominating the passage to the north; Tiryns and Argos can only have been held by trusted lieutenants. On no other hypothesis can Mykene have been the capital of a king. We know in fact that even after Mykene and Tiryns had fallen from their power, their mere existence was a threat to Argos, and both of them had to be razed, as too dangerous to the town which altered political relations had lifted to the first place. But in Mycenaean days,

Mycenae in a sense which here at least is free from ambiguity, when Mykene, as we know from the positive facts of excavation, was the residence for several generations at least of kings of astonishing wealth and culture—in those days it is inconceivable that there can have been any rivals in the Argolic plain. No monarch commanding such means as we know on indisputable evidence were at the command of the ruler of Mykene could have maintained his own existence had he not held, in addition to the barren hill-sides which surrounded his stronghold, the resources of the plain on which Argos flourished, and the harbours to which Tiryns held the approaches. He could hardly, save on sufferance from those two places, have got bare subsistence for himself and his retainers. His kingdom would have been a mockery.¹

Against this view, however, it has been urged that Agamemnon's kingdom lay to the north, and that Mykene was merely a southern outpost overlooking the Argive plain; that Corinth was really Agamemnon's capital, and that Homer was merely wrong when he called Agamemnon "king of Mykene"; for in Agamemnon's days Mykene was "nothing but the 'summer palace' with the tombs of the old kings."² There is, however, a serious difficulty in this view. Corinth can hardly have been the real, if not the ostensible capital of Agamemnon; for in Agamemnon's

¹ Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. pp. 184-5.

² Allen in *C.Q.* iii. p. 97.

days there was no Corinth in existence. The statement looks bold; but it is, I think, clearly demonstrable.

Corinth had one reason, and one reason only, for growing to greatness where it did. It was in communication with the two seas towards the east and the west; it owned a harbour on each, and its situation between the two, combined with its command of the only possible high-road between southern and northern Greece, marked it out for a great emporium of trade. How amply its later history justified its natural destiny it is needless to dwell upon now.

But save for purposes of trade the site of Corinth has no attractions for the settler. It lies on a bare and wind-swept plateau; "the atmosphere here is almost never at rest, neither in summer nor in winter. In winter frightful storms rage from the west, creating a surf on the shores of the isthmus hardly less heavy than on coasts that face the open sea. In summer the sea wind blows for days together so strongly, especially in New Corinth, that it becomes a regular plague. It drives before it whirls of dust and clouds of sharp sea-sand, covering everything with a yellow layer."¹ The whole surface is stony and arid, except for an oasis on the road between Corinth and Lechaeum, where a copious spring, identified by Pausanias² with Peirene, nourishes a

¹ Philippson in Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 20.

² Not by Strabo. See Frazer, *ibid.* p. 24. Corinth was amply supplied with water from wells, Strabo viii. 6. 21. This, however, says nothing for agriculture. For the barrenness of the soil see Strabo, *ibid.* c. 23, ἡ μὲν δὲ

rich vegetation, the garden of the bey of Corinth in the days of Turkish domination. The site of the city, like Homer's realm of the dead,¹ is marked by an "asphodel meadow"; it is covered in spring by the wan blossoms of the asphodel which nowhere flourishes so abundantly as over the deserted homes of men who have long since passed away. There can be no better type of barrenness and desolation. Trade has been diverted into other routes, and the present town of New Corinth is the creation of the railway, with its junction for Argos and Patras, and its petty coasting traffic with the northern shores of the gulf. It stands on the edge of the water, some miles away from the old site, and has altogether abandoned any claim to share in the traffic of the two seas.

Ancient Corinth had a natural harbour at Kenchreai on the Saronic Gulf; on the Corinthian Gulf it had none. Lechaion is a purely artificial creation, dug out of the shore, where the basin, now wholly sanded up, can still be traced,² "a shallow lagoon surrounded by dreary sand-dunes." The inhabitants of Corinth claimed that it was the first artificial port ever created, and they were in all probability right, at least so far as Greece was concerned. The prosperity of Corinth at all events depended entirely upon the existence of this artificial

πόλις ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων μεγάλη τε καὶ πλουσία διὰ παντὸς ὑπᾶρξεν . . .
χώραν δ' ἔσχεν οὐκ εὐγεῶν σφόδρα, ἀλλὰ σκολιάν τε καὶ τραχεῖαν, ἀφ' οὗ
πάντες ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον εἰρήκασι, καὶ παροιμιάζονται
Κόρινθος ὀφρυαὶ τε καὶ κοιλαίνεται.

Its wine was a "torture," ὁ Κορινθίος οἶνος βασανισμὸς ἐστὶ, Athen. i. p. 30 f.

¹ *Od.* xi. 539, 573, xxiv. 13.

² Frazer, *ibid.* p. 16.

port; for Corinth itself was a creation of the trade with the west. Till the great western movement of colonization opened markets for commerce in Sicily and Magna Graecia, Corinth had no cause for existence. Indeed the sea-domain of Corinth lay almost wholly to the west; the east was largely left to the Aeginetans, and of all the Corinthian colonies only Potidaia can have been sent from Kenchreai; Corcyra, Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Leukas and Apollonia were all planted with the intention of covering the sea-roads towards the western markets. But we have seen from the consistent evidence of the *Odyssey* that in Achaian days there was no traffic between Greece and the west; all that lies beyond Thesprotia was unknown land, save possibly the Homeric Taphos, up to which Achaians might go, but no farther. Under these circumstances must we not feel sure that Corinth could not exist? There was no inducement to make an artificial harbour at Lechaion, for it could receive no more than the trifling coasting traffic of the Gulf itself and the Four Islands at the mouth of it. For this purpose Sikyon would amply suffice. Sikyon was doubtless a place of extreme antiquity, for it lay in the one fertile plain of the district. Why should settlers leave it for the barren plateau a few miles away which offered them nothing whatever?

And the belief that there was never any Mycenaean town on the site of Corinth is strongly confirmed by archaeology. The evidence is not

purely negative. No Mycenaean remains have ever been found there, it is certain; but that in itself would not prove much; we have more than once had to refer to the significant fact that Schliemann excavated for several years at Hissarlik before the first Mycenaean sherds were discovered, and it might well be urged that the investigation of Corinth may yet produce them. But the significant fact is that, in the words of Dr. Rufus Richardson, the head of the American excavators,¹ "the excavations brought to light vases, and fragments of vases, of nearly every period except the Mycenaean." There were found not only abundant remains of the geometrical period, the immediate successor of the Mycenaean, but specimens of an earlier age, the well-known early Aegean type decorated with "scratches into which white matter has been pressed." The evidence is therefore far more compulsive than it ever was at Hissarlik. There, the fact that in the earlier excavations pre-Mycenaean remains were found immediately under the Roman layer at the top always gave rise to surprise and suspicion; an inexplicable gap remained to be filled up. At Corinth the record seems to be complete; the site had been occupied indeed in very early times, under circumstances which may yet be cleared up;² it had been definitely deserted in the Mycenaean age. We see now the reason for this. If at any time there should be found evidence of an occupation of

¹ *Ency. Brit.* vol. vii. 150.

² See Appendix, Note G.

the place as a town in Mycenaean days—I am not speaking, of course, of the possible discovery of a few chance sherds, but only of a real Mycenaean layer—I shall be prepared at once to admit that I have misinterpreted the evidence. But for the present I feel the utmost confidence that no such layer will ever be discovered, and boldly assert that in Achaian days there was no town of Corinth.

Thucydides,¹ it is true, takes a different view. He knows nothing of the Mycenaean age beyond what he can gather from Homer, and thinks that Greece had no sea-borne commerce till the Corinthians began to build ships; in fact, the oversea trade of Corinth is clearly to him a comparatively new creation, well within the range of historical memory. In this he is right. But, with his wonted acumen, he goes on to wonder how it can be that Corinth is already called “wealthy” by the ancient poets, in days when maritime enterprise, as he supposes, was unknown. His answer is that Corinth is equally adapted for an emporium of commerce passing along the isthmus by land. The idea is a natural one, and the same mistake has been made by other historians since. It is quite clear that if there ever was a day when Greece had no sea-borne commerce, there was at that time no Greek town which could have been

¹ οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσμοῦ ἀεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐπιμίσγόντων, χρήμασι τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται· ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον, i. 13.

called wealthy, least of all Corinth. What we know, and he did not know, is that in the Mycenaean age there was active commerce by sea; but it lay wholly to the east of Greece, and was therefore quite independent of any traffic by the isthmus. When the poets (probably Eumelos, as well as the Catalogue) called Corinth "wealthy," they were projecting into the past an epithet which belonged only to their own time.

But to say that the town of Corinth did not exist is not to deny the existence of the name. That at least is very ancient, as the termination shews. But the *-nth-* termination is applied not only to towns but to mountains. As there was at the north-western angle of the Peloponnese a Mount Erymanthos, so there was at the north-eastern a Mount Korinthos. That is of course the mountain which still retains the name, though with a prefix to distinguish it from the town which grew up at its foot and was called after it—the Acrocorinthus which, to the modern traveller, still means Corinth, the magnificent crag which preceded and has outlasted the once equally magnificent cities arising and decaying from time to time at its feet.

The town of Corinth is named once, and once only, in Homer, whom I am of course still keeping quite clear of complicity with the Greek Catalogue. In a single episode, destitute of any organic connexion with what precedes or follows, an otherwise wholly unknown hero, who appears only to be

killed, is said to have dwelt at Corinth.¹ It will not, I hope, shock the strictest unitarian if I say that the mention of the name shews that this episode is post-Achaian. If there was a real Homer composing the *Iliad* about 800 B.C., there was at least plenty of time for such an episode to have been composed and taken "out of its place and time in saga," like the Catalogue; it may equally have been composed by that Homer himself, in whose day Corinth was in the full swing of growing wealth. And indeed this was the view of the ancient critics who noted that when Homer speaks of the place in his own person he calls it Corinth; in the mouth of his characters it is always Ephyre.

That Ephyre was the old name of Corinth is a tradition which appears in a good many places, and an ancestress Ephyra, daughter of Tethys and Oceanus, was duly recorded in the genealogy sung by the local poet Eumelos, as the original inhabitant of the country.² The real source of the tradition is to be found in the story of Bellerophon, as recorded in Homer (*Il.* vi. 152 ff.). Bellerophon was grandson of Sisypheos the Aeolid, who dwelt in "a city Ephyre, in a nook of horse-feeding Argos." The whole legend of Sisypheos and Bellerophon was claimed by Corinth, and it seemed necessary, therefore, that Ephyre should be Corinth.

¹ ἦν δέ τις Εὐχίνωρ, Πολυίδου μάντιος υἱός,
ἀφνειός τ' ἀγαθός τε, Κορινέοι οἰκία ναίων.

Il. xiii. 663-4.

² Paus. ii. 1. 1.

Now we had to deal with Ephyre in the last chapter; and the conclusion at which we then arrived may help us now. We seemed to see grounds for choosing, out of the various old towns once called Ephyre according to Strabo, two which have at least this negative advantage, that there was no obvious reason why they should have been invented—in other words, that the name did not seem to serve any learned theory. One of these was in Thesprotia, the other, distinguished as Ephyre on the Selleis, was near Sikyon. Now Sikyon itself was only ten miles from Corinth, and it does not seem possible to suppose that two old towns named Ephyre lay close to one another. In other words, if Strabo is right in giving us to understand that there was in the small territory of Sikyon a known town called Ephyre lying on a known river Selleis, the conclusion seems inevitable that this Ephyre was the original Corinth. There is no improbability in such an idea; indeed it almost seems to follow of itself from the proof that in Achaian times the town of Corinth did not exist. The nearest inhabited place must have been the adjacent and fertile plain of Sikyon; and when the opening of the commerce of the west called for the establishment of a town which could sit astride the isthmus, the nearest town in the Sikyonian territory would obviously be the one to claim the land, and to provide the settlement with its first inhabitants, local legends and all. In this sense Ephyre was the old name of Corinth—not

that they were on the same site, but that the first inhabitants of Corinth had come from Ephyre a few miles away. It would then follow that the Selleis is the same as the stream, or rather torrent, which Strabo elsewhere calls "the river Nemea," because it takes its rise close to the well-known town of that name.¹ A double name is of course possible enough; but one cannot be too cautious in dealing with Strabo, who has the bad habit of giving us without any possibility of distinction the names which were really used and those which, from his study of Homer, he thinks ought to have been used. We will therefore say no more than this—that if Strabo's statements represent facts, the story of Ephyre being the older name of Corinth is at once explained, and that the Ephyre where Sisyphos had his home is the same as the Ephyre on the Selleis whence Phyleus of Elis brought away the corslet given him by his guest-friend Euphetes (*Il.* xv. 530).

There remains, however, one difficulty the explanation of which is not obvious. The Ephyre of Sisyphos is described as lying *μύχῳ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο*, in a nook or angle of horse-breeding Argos. Now this may be explained by saying that Argos here is used in sense (3), of the whole Peloponnese, where

¹ Strabo viii. 6. 25, *ὁρίζει δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν καὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν ποταμὸς Νεμέα*. Cf. Aeschines, *F.L.* 168 *τὴν Νεμεάδα καλουμένην χάραδρα*, and Diod. xiv. 83 *τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμόν*. On the ground, no doubt, that this already has its name Kiepert gives the name of Selleis to the stream to the west of the Asopos on which Sikyon stood. At least I can find no other ground for the identification. But this westerly stream has also another name, Sythas; Paus. ii. 7. 8; vii. 27. 12, with Frazer's notes.

horses are still bred, as they no doubt always have been; and that the plain of Sikyon, the one piece of alluvial land in this district, is a "nook" in the generally rough and stony northern shore. But with this explanation, though I think it possible, I confess that I am not wholly satisfied. The phrase is used again in *Od.* iii. 263, where it is said of Aigisthos:

ὁ δ' εὐκηλος μυχῶι Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο
 πόλλ' Ἀγαμέμνονέην ἄλοχον θέλγεσκ' ἐπέεσσιν.

Here the words have a more definite sense. It is not quite clear indeed whether Aigisthos courted his cousin's wife in Mykene, her home, or in his own, which, as will be shewn later,¹ was probably at, or at least quite close to, Tiryns. But either place lies actually "in an angle" of Argos in the strict sense (2), the immediate domain of Agamemnon, the Argolic plain; Mykene lies at the northern angle, Tiryns at the south-eastern. And one would be glad to find an equally definite significance for the site of Ephyre.

Now immediately under the control of Mykene, and connected thereby with the Argive plain rather than the north, are several secluded little plains which drain to the Corinthian Gulf, marked in later days by the sites of Phlius, Nemea, and Kleonai. It is not, I think, improbable that the lost Ephyre may have lain in one or other of these, near Nemea or Kleonai, and is thus described as in a nook which belongs to Argolis.² The point is, however, not

¹ See Appendix, Note H.

² Cf. Bethe, *Theb. Heldens.* 182.

essential for my argument, and may be left for further consideration.

We have now reached the point at which we must consider the real meaning of the position of Mykene. M. Victor Bérard's view, adopted and expanded by Professor Gilbert Murray,¹ is that in Mykene we have an instance of "a castle built at a juncture of mountain passes for the purpose of levying taxes on all traffic that goes through"; or rather, as Professor Murray modifies it, "to keep open a safe trade route between the northern and southern seas."

The idea is attractive and at the moment fashionable; but, like so many of M. Bérard's suggestive theories, does not hold water on close examination. Some trade by land may always have passed under the walls of Mykene; at times it may even have been considerable. When Corinth was the greatest city of Greece, as it no doubt was at its prime, it must have attracted the agricultural produce alike of the Argolic plain and of the landlocked Arcadia; it is possible that the terrors of Cape Malea may even have rendered it commercially possible to send by this route at least light and valuable goods, such, for instance, as the iron armour manufactured from the mines of Taygetus, from as far as Laconia. But that can never have been a very great matter; and we have seen that in Achaian days there was no great market of Corinth. Mykene commands the

¹ Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, i. 11, 78; Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 57.

road from the south-west to the north-east; but the north-east, if I am right, offered no nearer market than Boeotia, with a possible exception in favour of Eleusis and Athens, though of these I speak with great hesitation. And it seems to me quite impossible that an overland trade can have been carried on between the Peloponnese and Boeotia. The sea must have been an overwhelming competitor.

From the Argolic Gulf eastwards the coast bristles with the little ports which early coasting trade requires, and Sunium is the only point which was likely to cause the navigator any serious trouble. Boeotia is accessible, too, from the west as well as the east; the traffic of the western Peloponnese would naturally pass by the sheltered Corinthian Gulf to the excellent ports of Krisa, Antikyra, and the other bays which follow one another along the southern shore of Boeotia. There is in fact nothing to interfere with the enormous inherent advantage which, from the commercial point of view, water possesses over land as a means of carriage. Nothing but purely local commerce can have passed by Mykene, and even this cannot have been able to stand taxation which could so easily be evaded by various routes. Mykene derived nothing from the taxation of caravans. With no Corinth to act as a magnet, even the local trade which entered the Argolid from Arcadia and Sparta would naturally be passed on eastwards by sea, through Nauplia and perhaps Epidaurus.

Let us then put trade aside, and look at Mykene as owing its dominance not to its commercial but to its political and military position. Let us, in fact, see whether it was not admirably suited to be the headquarters of a strong central government of Achaian Greece.

We will for a moment leave out of sight the island powers, those of Idomeneus in Crete, and on the other side of Odysseus in the Four Islands; and we will take into consideration the continental portion only of the Greece which, so far as we can tell, was led by Agamemnon against Troy. This consisted, in the first place, of the whole Peloponnese—we need not at the moment consider how far Arcadia can be called Achaian. On the north-west it excluded Acarnania—there is no trace whatever in Homer or even in the Catalogue of an Acarnanian people or hero. But it included Aetolia, the original home of Tydeus and the scene of famous legends. It included, in one way or another, central Greece eastwards from Aetolia, and the realm of Peleus, which as we have seen extended from the Spercheios valley to Pelion at the head of the Pagasaeon Gulf; though central and northern Thessaly lay outside the Achaian range. And it may be taken to have included Euboea also,¹ though that island plays a singularly small part in the Trojan legend, and Attica whose position is almost equally insignificant.

¹ Euboea, separated from the mainland by a strait only 40 yards in width, and generally crossed by a bridge, is for the present purpose continental and not an island.

Now let us take a pair of compasses and a map of Greece, and draw a circle with Mykene as its centre, and a radius of 100 English miles.¹ We shall find that this just includes the whole Peloponnese; the circumference very nearly passes through the three extreme points, Malea and Taenarum on the south, Chelonatas on the west. Crossing the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, it strikes the delta of the Acheloos, including Aetolia, but leaving out Acarnania. North-eastwards thence it runs to the country of the Dolopes, the very outpost of the Achaian realm in this part, as we have seen; it skirts the north edge of Othrys, passing through the heart of Phthia at the Crocian plain, including the mouth of the Gulf of Pagasae, but just missing Iolkos at the head. It then closely follows the outer edge of Euboea, omitting Geraistos, the south-eastern point, but taking in the whole of the Attic peninsula, and thence returning to Malea where it began. It appears, then, that Mykene is, almost to a mile or two, the exact mathematical centre of continental Achaia. When we speak, therefore, of central government from Mykene, we may do so in a very literal sense indeed.

But centrality is not the only, or even the most essential, requirement of central government. The primary requisite is constant and easy communication at all times with every portion of the dominion. And so far as the different portions of the realm are connected by land, this means communication by

¹ See the map of Homeric Greece.

land, and what is more, by high-roads. Passage by sea is far cheaper, but it is subject to the vicissitudes of wind and weather; it is not certain, and an imperial message in a national crisis must not be subject to the risk of being windbound for a week or more. Compared to such a danger, cost is of no importance. Armies, too, must be able to move rapidly at a moment's notice to any point threatened by invasion or rebellion; and the embarkation of an army, especially if it contains cavalry, is a difficult and lengthy business; it may cost more to send the force by land, but its arrival, if no great distance is involved, will be not only more certain but more rapid, so long as it can move by good roads. Cavalry particularly will move much more rapidly. So it is that high-roads concentrating on any point are evidence *prima facie* that this point was a seat of government; and this is pre-eminently so in Greece, where every part of the land, with the exception of Arcadia,¹ has such easy access to the shore that it will use sea-carriage for all the ordinary purposes of life. When, therefore, we find that there was in Achaian times a system of paved roads² radiating from

¹ And Central Thessaly, which is not in question now.

² To speak of a system is, of course, to pass beyond the actual evidence into inference. All that have been found are fragments of roads along the east side of the plain leading from Mykene towards Tiryns, and thence on the way to Epidauros. But there is, I think, considerable ground for the inference that such roads led to the more distant parts of Greece; it would not seem worth while to construct them merely for the narrow limits of the Argive plain. It is hardly to be expected that signs of a complete system could exist. In a mountainous country like Greece all traffic through the ages has to follow, on the whole, the same lines; wear is followed by repair, and old paving must disappear. The only reason why some scanty remains

Mykene, we have a very strong reason for supposing that Mykene was the actual seat of government. It was Professor E. Meyer who first made the pregnant remark¹ that paved roads are meant for the passage of chariots, not of caravans—that they are military, not commercial—a conclusion at which we have also arrived by a different path. They are explained by and explain the position of the fortress to which they lead; Mykene was the centre of the military and therefore of the political government of Achaian Greece. In other words, to come back to Homer, the family of Atreus, the successive lords of Mykene, were in fact and not merely in name kings of all Argos.

If we venture into the regions of pure legend, and give a little rein to our fancy, remembering always that we are on ground where our results can no longer be checked by tangible facts, we may perhaps even get a glimpse of the steps by which they had attained their position of command. These Achaians, we must always bear in mind, were but newcomers, interlopers. They had not even created Mykene; they had in some way of which we know nothing taken it over from an older generation, the generation whose kings were buried in the famous shaft-graves. Legend said that the Pelopid had succeeded the

have been found is that Mykene itself, in order to obtain a strong position, was placed some two miles off the natural lines of passage, so that in its vicinity the roads no longer served any useful purpose when the fortress had been abandoned, and their disuse led to their survival.

¹ *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. 170, 180.

Perseid house in the kingdom of the plain. Some of the older dynasty, the successors of those who had first introduced from Crete the Minoan civilization which in its latest stage the Achaians made their own—some of these earlier Minoans were probably left in the land, in possession of their dignities and royal domains. Like Nestor at Pylos, the Minoans at Argos had thrown in their lot with the Achaian conquerors, and were regarded as Achaians. They may even have called themselves kings of Argos. On the other side of the isthmus the city of Thebes was equally left in the hands of its old possessors, the Kadmeans—the Boeotian name was not yet introduced—but the Kadmeans were never reckoned among the Achaian community, refusing adoption by the newcomers.

Legend had much to tell of the great family quarrel which broke out between the kings of Argos and of Thebes. The tale is familiar to Homer and is several times mentioned, not in the form in which we know it so well from the Tragedians, but in connexion with Tydeus the father of Diomedes. Tydeus was a fugitive from Aetolia who had attached himself to the service of the king of Argos, Adrastos, marrying his daughter and receiving a domain in the plain. In return for this he took up his patron's cause, and at the risk of his life carried the challenge from Argos to Thebes. But no war could be carried on between the two families without the goodwill of the kings of Mykene, who held the only pass by

which Argos could get at Thebes. Tydeus, therefore, came with Polyneikes, one of the principals in the quarrel, to Mykene to solicit the favour of the king—what king Homer does not say, only it was before the days of Agamemnon.¹ Mykene refused to take any active part in the fight, but promised a benevolent neutrality; as Homer puts it, “they were willing to give assistance, and encouraged the envoys; but Zeus prevented them by giving unfavourable signs.” Can we not see through this that the unfavourable signs which stayed the king of Mykene from doing more than give his blessing, ready though he was to send men, may very likely have coincided with a shrewd statesman’s policy; that the signs of Zeus were a very convenient thing for a king of Mykene who was not at all reluctant to see his rivals on either side cutting one another’s throats, while he, of course out of pure friendliness to his nearest neighbour, did his best to forward the quarrel, sitting fast all the time in his mountain fortress to see the fruits of the dispute fall without an effort into his lap? I am not at all indisposed, in fact, to see a historical background to the war of the Seven against Thebes, and to think that it may have done much to establish the supremacy in Greece of the house of Atreus, who were never so exacting in their moral standard as to be incapable of a Machiavellian policy. At all events their supremacy is in the *Iliad* so well established that

¹ *Il.* iv. 376 ff.

the Kadmeans are entirely out of the reckoning in the Trojan War, and the representatives of Argos, Sthenelos the son of Kapaneus, and Diomedes the son of Adrastos' retainer, are among the most obedient and faithful of Agamemnon's men.

That Agamemnon is supreme in the Peloponnese is indisputable. He himself in Mykene holds the whole Argive plain in his grip, and is ready to send his chariots and footmen in any direction along his military roads. Lakonia is held for him by his brother Menelaos, who never has a word to say against the will of his elder and sovereign. The Spartans themselves, as we know from Pausanias, claimed Agamemnon as their own king, and even shewed his tomb at Amyklai¹—to say nothing of the worship of Zeus Agamemnon. Messenia was part of his realm; for he offers, without consulting any one, to give Achilles seven Messenian towns as a part of the price of atonement for the seizure of Briseis.² Meges, with the Epeians of Elis, appears, though in a very minor place, to have been one of his men. Nestor is left with his little kingdom of Pylos, a representative of the older race of the Minyans of Iolkos, through Neleus; he too is one of the most faithful of Agamemnon's followers, and preaches the doctrine of passive obedience to the sovereign.³

Thus all the Peloponnese is accounted for, except the northern strip of coast, too unimportant to mention, and Arcadia. It certainly looks as though

¹ Paus. iii. 19. 5.

² *Il.* ix. 149-156.

³ *Il.* ii. 79-83.

the Arcadians were not yet brought under the sway of the Achaian kings; they were probably still wild hill-men whom it was wise to leave as far as possible to themselves. At all events they make no appearance whatever in the Trojan War; we hear of them only as disagreeable neighbours to Pylos in the west, where they have in the past given Nestor trouble by their border raids—men who did not even fight with civilized arms, such as bows and spears, but smashed their way through disciplined troops with huge clubs.¹

In Central Greece we have at least negative evidence of the supremacy of Agamemnon; there is not a single chieftain of any importance to be his rival. Thoas with the Aetolians stands in the same dubious and secondary position as Meges with the Epeians. Phokians are mentioned only in connexion with the death of a wholly unknown commander. The Lokrians are not named at all; though Aias the son of Oileus is a Lokrian in later legend, the fact is not named in the *Iliad*. Neither he nor his namesake the Telamonian Aias from Salamis has any followers; they fight simply as individual champions. This was noticed at an early age as something which required explanation; and when we come to the little Catalogue, the *Ionia*, we find that a curious and rather awkward apology is made for it. The Lokrians, we hear, could not be trusted in the stress of pitched battle; they had no body

¹ *Il.* vii. 132 ff.

armour, and were only bowmen who had to be kept in the rear, while their leader fought in the van beside his namesake. As for the namesake, Aias the Telamonian, we learn that he had a quite large number of followers, whose duty, it seems, was not to fight but only to stand by and hold their chief's shield whenever he grew weary of its weight.¹ The position of the Athenians is somewhat more defined, but at the best insignificant, and the praise awarded to their leader Menestheus in the Catalogue is wholly out of proportion with his exploits. He can at best stand in the second rank with Thoas and Meges. And as the Kadmeans do not appear in the war, and there were no Boeotians yet, there is none to dispute Agamemnon's claim to imperial sway throughout this central region.

We seem, then, to see the outline of a well-organized central government. The inner circle, the immediate domain of the king, is held safely by the fortresses of Mykene and Tiryns; it dominates all the roads by land, and has command of access to the sea by Nauplia southwards, by Epidauros and perhaps Kenchreai eastwards, and by Sikyon to the Gulf of Corinth. Outside this lies an intermediate ring which is also controlled by the king of Mykene, partly through his viceroy Menelaos and his doughty retainer Diomedes, partly, it would seem, through minor chiefs who are well within reach of

¹ *Il.* xiii. 701-722. In the Review, *Il.* iv. 274, the personal following of the two Aiantes is again mentioned, but without any hint of tribal names.

armies, chariots and footmen, held in readiness in the plain of Argos. And last comes the outer ring, largely consisting of the islands, which are of necessity in looser connexion with the seat of government. This outer ring is therefore held by "Wardens of the Marches," chiefs of far greater importance and more independence than appear in Central Greece, but all, with one exception, devoted adherents of the central power. There is Nestor in the west, to preach at the opening of the *Iliad* (i. 278) the divine right of the sceptred king who holds his power from Zeus, and to give a little later (ii. 79-83), a practical instance of passive obedience to a command which he disapproves—"Had any other Achaian told us the dream, we should think it a lie and turn away; but now, since he hath seen it who has the claim to be supreme over the Achaians, let us do what he bids."

In the far north-west is Odysseus who, in the scene in the Assembly in the Second Book, undeterred by the disastrous result of passive obedience in this particular case, proclaims to the Achaians the principle "a multitude of masters is no good thing; let one be master, let one be king, even he to whom the son of Kronos has given the sceptre and the dooms to be king among us."¹ And Idomeneus from the still farther Crete in the south-east says to Agamemnon, "Son of Atreus, of a surety I will be thy very trusty comrade, as I promised thee at the first and gave my

¹ *Il.* ii. 204-206.

pledge.”¹ It is only in the extreme north that, not indeed the king of Phthia, but his hot-headed son, sounds the note of independence; and on this the whole tale of the *Iliad* hangs. Save for Achilles, the position of Agamemnon as supreme and absolute ruler passes unquestioned.

From this picture of the empire of Agamemnon—a picture consistent with itself, with all the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the facts of geography and the evidence of archaeology—we turn to another, the picture given us in the Catalogue. Here is a difference indeed! The Cataloguer, intent upon his work of dismemberment, has attacked the Achaian polity at its very heart, and given us his masterpiece. The domain of Agamemnon, his very home, is rent in pieces and given to others. He is not allowed even to be king of Argos. Mykene indeed is left to him; that, in face of the direct words of Homer, was inevitable. But Diomedes is made the king not only of Argos, but of Tiryns and of the whole Argolic peninsula—even the island of Aegina, not being elsewhere named by Homer, is thrown in. Besides Mykene, Agamemnon is allowed only Corinth, Kleonai, Sikyon “where Adrastos first was king in the land,” and the towns which lie on the narrow northern shore between Arcadia and the Corinthian Gulf.

The difficulties and indeed the absurdities of this partition are so numerous that it is hard to know where best to begin. But we will start with Diomedes

¹ *Il.* iv. 266 f.

himself. To Homer he dwells indeed "in midmost Argos," but he is certainly not king of Argos. And this is clear not merely from negative evidence, though indeed Homer never speaks of him as king, but on the ground that Diomedes himself carefully tells us exactly what he was, and plainly shews us that he was no king.

Turn to *Il.* xiv. 103. Agamemnon has been seized, not for the first time, with a fit of despair, and has actually proposed to abandon the war altogether, at a moment of temporary defeat—a piece of cowardice which arouses the just and severe indignation of Odysseus. Agamemnon accepts the sharp reproof, and asks, "is there no one who will devise some better plan, be he young or old? I should be glad thereof." Then spake Diomedes (I abridge his actual words): "Here is the man, if you will hearken to me and not despise me because I am the youngest of you. At least I have a high-born father, even Tydeus, who lies buried at Thebes. Portheus had three sons who dwelt in Pleuron and in Kalydon"—he was king, that is, of Aetolia—"and one of these was Oineus, my father's sire. He dwelt at home, but my father Tydeus had to depart, by the will of the gods"—according to later legend the departure thus respectfully alluded to was due to a family homicide—"and settled in Argos. And there he wedded one of Adrastos' daughters, and dwelt in a rich house, and possessed wheat-fields and orchards and flocks, and was first of all Achaians with the spear. Therefore

ye cannot say that by birth at least I am a base man or a cowardly, and so despise the word I shall utter."

Let us consider this passage carefully and dispassionately, and ask ourselves if it is possible in the mouth of the man who, according to the Catalogue, is the king of a realm at least as rich and powerful as that of Agamemnon himself? Is it not the speech of a man who is what he himself says, the son of an exile fortunate enough to make a good marriage and win a rich dowry, but a man who cannot without an apology venture to rank himself, even after the appeal of Agamemnon, with those who are really kings? One may put it down to modesty; but is not such modesty under the circumstances gross and patent affectation? Tydeus is in fact the typical "broken man" who plays a great part, as we shall see, in such a society as the Achaian; the man of good birth who has to fly his home and take refuge with a neighbouring chieftain, a chieftain who is delighted to accept his service, as enhancing his own power and glory, and attaches him by gifts and subordinate authority. But he is essentially a retainer with no status of his own. That is always the position of Diomedes in Homer; one need only look at the words in which, as though to make him sensible of his inferiority, Agamemnon rates him in the review of the troops (*Il.* iv. 371 ff.). His friend Sthenelos being a born prince in his own land, the son of Kapaneus, fires up at the insolent and unjust accusations of the king of men; Diomedes takes them

meekly, as becomes his station, and points out that Agamemnon is in fact the commander of them all, and will have to bear all the blame if things go wrong. That is hardly the attitude of a king of Argos, Tiryns, Hermione, Asine, Troezen, Eion, Epidauros, Aegina and Mases.

As Diomedes is no king, his kingdom is no kingdom. The division which makes Argos a capital town while Mykene is still fortified, and the stronghold of a rival state, is impossible. It is clear that Diomedes did not raze the walls of Mykene when he allowed Agamemnon to use it as a "summer palace"; it was not till 468 B.C. that Argos took the final step of exterminating the fortress, finding its mere existence, though in the hands of its own people, intolerably threatening; just as Tiryns had to be razed when it proved its dangerous strength by serving as a place of refuge for revolted slaves.¹

But even the reduction of Mykene from the rank of a fortress to a mere summer palace was not the worst humiliation which Diomedes—or was it his father Tydeus?—had inflicted on his unfortunate overlord. The loss of his stronghold can hardly have been so severe a blow as deprivation of every harbour within his realm. Agamemnon, as we are told by

¹ Diodoros xi. 65; Herod. vi. 83; Paus. ii. 17. 5; viii. 27. 1. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. p. 184, "Es ist unmöglich das Gebiet der Ebene in dieser Weise zu zerreißen. Wohl haben sich in geschichtlicher Zeit in Mykene und Tiryns kleine Gemeinde neben Argos selbständig behauptet; aber das Mykene der Urzeit ist undenkbar ohne rege Verbindung mit dem Meere. Seine Könige müssen über Argos wie über Tiryns geboten haben."

the Cataloguer, provided 100 ships for his own troops. Where did he get them and keep them? When he ruled the Argolid he had harbours and to spare; but every one of these numerous bays and creeks has been taken from him, and has passed under the power of Diomedes. All the sea-board left him is the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, the one portion of the Greek coast south of Thessaly which is, in its whole length from west to east, entirely devoid of any natural shelter for a ship.

And not only did he provide himself with these 100 ships, but he found 60 more for the Arcadians. The hill-men were marched down, it seems, by the difficult passes which lead to the northern sea-board and embarked on a harbourless shore, simply in order that they might enjoy a perfectly needless addition of some 300 miles to their sea voyage to Troy, with all the risks of the rounding of Malea thrown in. Surely the least Diomedes should have done would have been to bring them by the shorter and easier roads into Argolis, and there ship them from one of his many harbours, contributing something at least to the common cause, and more than halving the time and risk involved in the transport of this large contingent. But after all, Diomedes was, as we shall see, so obstinate a dog in the manger to his king that he could hardly be expected to do much for the rustic allies.

Let us next take in turn the towns which are ascribed to Agamemnon. There is Mykene, which,

as we are told, was only the "summer palace." Then follows Corinth, "wealthy Corinth"; but its wealth is still in the future. In Agamemnon's days it was only a bare and lofty hill, rich indeed in the beauty and grandeur of its rock walls, and in the superb view from its summit, as it is to-day, but in nothing else. Kleonai was a small town in a little landlocked plain; the glory and profit which it gained from the Nemean games were still to come. Orneiai or Orneai was another small town which existed till 416 B.C. when it was destroyed by the Argives; it lay in the N.W. corner of the Argive hills. Araithyrea is identified by Strabo with Phlius, a third of these little hill-territories. The three together go naturally with Mykene, but their position, cut off from all access to the sea, prevented their ever attaining either importance or independence. Sikyon is the first name in the list of Agamemnon's towns which possessed a substantial existence of its own, and a territory which was destined, in the days when Corinth grew to greatness, to bring wealth from the richness of its soil and the neighbourhood of a splendid market.

Then follow the towns of the Aigialos or northern shore line—Hyperesia, the later Aigeira (Paus. vii. 26. 2)—Gonoessa, of which, according to Pausanias (*ibid.* § 13), the proper name was Donoessa, but otherwise unknown—Pellene, Aigion and Helike. Let us look at an account of this land of the Sea Beach from a work of authority; it will explain much.

"There are on the Achaian coast no recent deposits of fertile soil. The reason is that all the streams of the district have a short course and a remarkably rapid fall; they therefore carry all their finer detritus far out to sea, while beginning to drop the coarser material, resulting from the disintegration of the conglomerate, as soon as they leave the hills. They have thus built out pebbly tongues of land on both sides of their mouths, so that all along the coast the streams empty not into bays but at the end of points; even across the coastal plain they usually flow in raised beds between dams which they have themselves created. It is only in the district of Sikyon and Corinth that a plain some two miles in width has formed; the finer detritus brought down by the Achaian streams and the rivers of the opposite coast remains suspended in the sea long enough to be drifted by the prevalent winds into the bay of Lechaion, in whose backwaters it is deposited. Here, then, there is marsh formation in the strict sense of the word, and it seems that this small stretch of land, whose products gained enhanced prices from the neighbourhood of the great maritime town in the neighbourhood, was regarded as the most profitable in all Greece. That was at all events the opinion of the god of Delphi, when he advised the enquirer who asked how he could best get rich, to buy land between Corinth and Sikyon."¹

It was a country easy to defend, protected on the

¹ Neumann-Partsch, *Phys. Geog. v. Griechenland*, 353.

south by its mountain wall, broken only by passes through narrow ravines; while its very narrowness enabled a few forts to close it from attack on east and west. It produced enough for a moderate population, but had nothing for export, and the want of harbours cut it off from important commerce. Legend said that its early inhabitants were Ionians who swarmed out to colonize in the east; it was no home for a young and active people. But it was an excellent retreat for the Achaians when the race had reached its old age. Here a remnant of them lived quietly on, preserving the old religious rites of which Pausanias tells, but entirely out of the current of Greek history. Their position made federation a political necessity, but it was purely defensive. The gallant but futile struggle of the Achaian League against Macedonia was after all only a proof that they were behind their times; Aratos and Philopoimen were a Miltiades and Aristides two centuries and a half in arrear.

The district has now become familiar to travellers, as the railway from Patras to Athens traverses its length; and it has at times attained a speculative and uncertain prosperity as one of the districts which happen to suit the taste of the fastidious Corinth or currant grape-vine—an industry first introduced by the Venetians. On the other hand it is one of the earthquake centres of Greece, and has been the scene of frightful disasters in ancient and modern times alike. It has little to recommend it to an aggressive

race, and in Agamemnon's day we may be sure it was negligible. It offered nothing which the son of Atreus could regard as a compensation for the loss of his patrimony in Argos.

The Cataloguer has in fact got himself into a hopeless position. The murderous stroke which he has driven through the heart of Agamemnon's empire is as foolish as it is criminal. It contradicts at once history, geography, and Homer. But we have not yet seen the whole foolishness of it. For that we must turn to Mr. Allen, who with unimpeachable courage and logic has drawn the extreme consequences of what he reads in the Catalogue, and thus enabled us to judge of the value of his premisses.

"Agamemnon's seaboard," writes Mr. Allen,¹ "lay entirely on the Gulf of Corinth. . . . We are not told of anything corresponding to the later Cenchreae, and it is to be presumed that the Catalogue views the Saronic Gulf generally up to Salamis (and its Peraea) and Athens as the property of the Argolid monarchy. Agamemnon had no foothold on the Argolic Gulf, and therefore his access to Mycenae was overland only." Mr. Allen has undoubtedly caught the spirit of the Cataloguer, and pushes to the utmost the aggrandisement of Argos at the expense of the king of men. But still I can hardly believe that the Cataloguer went quite as far as this. May he not have had some qualms in depriving Corinth, which he calls "wealthy," of the one source of its wealth,

¹ *C.Q.* iii. p. 89.

access to both seas? But Mr. Allen is troubled by no such hesitations. As for the extension of the kingdom of Argolis to Salamis and Athens, that seems hardly consonant with the Catalogue itself, which places those regions under other leaders than Diomedes. But we will be content with the general statement, which is undoubtedly consistent with the Catalogue, that Agamemnon has no port on the Saronic or Argolic Gulfs. The logical conclusion, which Mr. Allen bravely draws, is that Agamemnon, in order to get to his home when returning from Troy, could do so only by sailing right round the Peloponnese and approaching Sikyon, or wherever he might manage to land, from the west. In other words his nominal vassal Diomedes will not allow him to land at Cenchreae at his own door—it is only five miles from Corinth, which is allowed to be his—but forces him to take a voyage which about trebles the distance from Troy to his home; for it is roughly 200 miles from Troy to Sunium, and 400 from Sunium to Sikyon round the peninsula. Truly the overlord is made to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs! He is, moreover, forced to face the rounding of Cape Malea, the most difficult piece of navigation in Greek waters, and his failure in doing so is, according to Mr. Allen, the indirect cause of his death.¹

Surely by this time the Catalogue has been reduced to the absurd; it has even attained to the

¹ See Appendix, Note H.

grotesque. Let us put aside once for all this curious product of a post-Achaian time; let us even count for something the tradition of the Tragedians, who thought, in spite of the Catalogue, that Agamemnon was as much at home in the city of Argos as at Mykene; let us count for something the evidence of nature, which says that such a severance of the Argive plain is a mere monstrosity defying history and geography alike. Above all, let us take the testimony of Homer, our best witness after all, and believe that he meant what he said—let us believe that Agamemnon was indeed a king of men, not a decadent figurehead, bereft of all that was valuable in his patrimony, driven out to bare hills and worthless pebble-beaches, and refused access to what little was left him by the overbearing insolence of a king of Argos, of whom later tradition knew nothing, and whom Homer himself pictures as an obedient and modest vassal.

CHAPTER VII

THE FUSION OF RACES

A FAITHFUL adherence to the principle of interpreting Homer from Homer only, duly confirmed by archaeology and geography, has led us to the conception of the empire of Agamemnon as a central government, ruled from Mykene by the king of Argos, and supported around its borders by a ring of chieftains, all acknowledging his supremacy and following him in a great national adventure, the Trojan War.

Now to the Hellenes of later days this seemed a very strange thing. Thucydides divined it with his usual insight,¹ but his words shew that it was not the accepted view in his day. The thought of a united Greece led by a great ruler against the forces of the barbarians was for long the ideal of political dreamers, with Isokrates at their head; but it remained an ideal and a dream. Even when Macedonian power was at its highest it meant no central government for Greece; Greece, never united, was only dragged in the train of a kingdom which lay outside it, and Alexander, when he undertook the rôle of leader of

¹ See p. 197.

Hellenism against the East, was not only hampered from the first by reluctance and revolt in the rear, but found his greatest obstacle, at least in the earlier stages of the campaign, in the Greek forces serving under the Persian banner.

From the fall of the Achaian power till less than a century ago there was no central government in Greece. We have already noticed as a curious coincidence that the new central government came into being in the domain of Agamemnon, the Argolic plain. For eleven years, from 1822 till 1833, the capital of the new Greek kingdom was at Nauplia; there the first National Assembly met, close to the walls of Tiryns, and there the first king of the Hellenes was elected some 3000 years after the last king of the Achaians had passed away.

This incapacity for union throughout the time when the philosophic leaders of the thought of all the world were sighing for it, was of course not due to any inherent defect in the Greek character. The existence, for more than half a century, of the Athenian empire is proof that some Greeks at least possessed to a remarkable degree the power of political organization—a fact which is frankly though reluctantly admitted by the “Old Oligarch” who composed the treatise on the Athenian Constitution commonly printed among the works of Xenophon. “Our treatment of our allies,” so runs the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, “is inexcusable; but it must be admitted that, if there is to be an empire ruled by a democracy,

the thing could not be more efficiently done than it is by the democracy of Athens."

But the Athenian empire was not a centralization of Greece; it covered only the islands and some of the Aegean coasts. The attempt to extend it to the mainland ruined Athens; indeed it began to break down as soon as the pressure from without, which had originally formed the bond of union, began to weaken. Athens is the exception which proves the rule; the Greeks had the capacity for central government, but circumstances were too strong for them.

What these circumstances were a glance at the map will tell us. The configuration of the peninsula was the dominant influence which subordinated the conception of the nation to that of the city-state—which made Greek politics, not exactly parochial, but cantonal. The mountain ridges broke the land up into compartments, fertile plains surrounded by barriers hard to traverse; and at every point the sea was close at hand, a tempting highway to the opposite shore, and so a powerful centrifugal force. Each plain barely sufficed for the support of its own inhabitants; anything beyond a bare pittance must be sought abroad; they looked to lands across the sea, and not to their immediate neighbours, for expansion and wealth. Hence the Athenian empire was based not on the land but on the sea, and centralized government was unknown in Hellenic times.

If I dwell on these familiar and indeed obvious

considerations, it is to shew my full consciousness that, in supposing the Achaian government to have been central, I am assuming something which is contrary to the natural course of Greek history—something which needs a very particular explanation. And it offers at the same time, if established, a reason why any Greek attempting to reconstruct from imperfect knowledge a picture of the heroic age would be likely to represent the Achaian state as broken up into the small parcels which his own experience would offer him, not without ground, as the natural and apparently inevitable constitution of his country.

The only condition for a united and independent Hellas with which history supplies us is pressure from an alien and adjacent power, strong enough to threaten dangerously, but not strong enough to crush. This condition was satisfied when, about a century ago, the Turkish power had declined to a point at which rebellion became possible. It might possibly have been fulfilled in the fifth century B.C., had Persia been only a little stronger; continued and dangerous pressure from the east might have made permanent the temporary alliance of Sparta and Athens, which fell to pieces when the battles of Plataea, Mykale, and the Eurymedon had proved that the danger was over.

But it seems certain that no power of the sort existed in Achaian days; the Achaians themselves were the threatening power, not the threatened, when they entered Greece. But in what we have already

assumed respecting the situation of the Achaians in Greece we may find another force no less effectual. A comparatively small number of invaders in a conquered land, scattered through it and dominating from their castles a subject population, are bound by the very essence of their tenure to hold together, to organize their communications with every seat of power, in fact to govern under the stringent conditions of martial law, the first of which is harmonious subjection to a single commander. No government which is in fact a garrison can exist for a moment, except on condition of central rule.

The early history of Greece shews us at least one striking instance of this, though on a rather smaller scale; the position which is assumed for the Achaians in Greece is exactly that of the Spartans in Laconia. The pressure of the subject population was the bond which enabled, or rather obliged, the Spartans to maintain the extreme centralization of their military system throughout their history. Their numbers when they came were perhaps less than those of the Achaians—they were always small; and they doubtless found a more resistant Greece, vivified and fertilized by the Achaians, though still in ferment. Had they been in larger numbers, it is conceivable at least that they would have overspread all continental Greece, and made a united nation of it for centuries. As it is we can point to them only as an instance of the welding power exercised in a single state by a large majority of unwilling subjects.

We recur, then, to the idea of the Achaians as an invading military race, small in numbers, dwelling in fortified castles, and ruling a much larger subject population, probably akin to them in blood, but widely differing in culture and thought. The Achaians are soldiers, who have inherited the art and wealth of the Minoans, whom they have succeeded; the subjects are tillers of the soil, accustomed to serfdom, and living on by the side of their masters, yet having little in common with them beyond the payment of their dues.

In this fundamental division lies, I believe, the key to much that is puzzling in the later Hellenism. The blending of such contrasted strata is a constant factor in the advance of civilization. We need only look to the Norman conquest of England to remind ourselves how the leaven of a new and energetic race, small in itself and destined in the end to complete absorption, may yet quicken to a fresh being the mass of a subject population.

In the case of Greece the problem is complicated by the subsequent appearance of a third factor, the Dorian conquerors. But Dorism was always a thing apart—it was powerful, but it was to a great extent self-contained and independent; and it was never absorbed. The influence it exercised on the growth of Hellenism can therefore be studied separately; and, while not forgetting it, we may, without much risk of error, leave it out of sight in inquiring into the much more obscure problem with which we have

to deal—the influence of the Achaians and their culture.

Nor is it necessary to take any account of the earlier Minoan or Minyan element. That had already done its work in creating or profoundly affecting the Achaian culture; in Homer it has no independent existence, and it can hardly be possible to distinguish any special influence on later Greece. No doubt the Achaian Epos made as little as possible of this alien element. Minyan families still existed, but it was the policy of the Achaians to include them, so far as they were not hostile, among their own ranks. The Theban War, as we have seen, probably tells of the end of the recalcitrant Minyans. One family, the Neleids, always kept up the tradition of their descent; but to Homer Nestor is an Achaian like the rest, and his Minyan connexions are no more than hinted at—in the name of the river Minyeïos which flowed through his kingdom of Pylos (*Il.* xi. 722), and in his descent from Poseidon, unique among the genealogies of Homer. The Neleids played a great part in the tradition of the Ionian migration, and as Herodotos tells us (i. 146) Minyans from Orchomenos and Kadmeans also took part among other tribes in the colonization of Ionia. But so far as any distinction in social or religious systems is concerned we know nothing. We shall therefore include all the Minyans among the Achaians, and confine ourselves to the twofold division into Achaians and subjects.

For this subject population we have to use some

common name; and, though with some misgivings, I propose to speak of them as the Pelasgians. The disadvantages of the name with all the connotations which it has collected in modern as in ancient times, are obvious; but it seems hardly possible to avoid it. It will be used in the sense in which I believe Herodotos, when he was not theorizing, used it—to indicate only that portion of the population which claimed to have been in the country before the fresh element which produced Hellenism came in. It must not be taken to imply any racial difference, only priority of occupation; in that sense I think the Pelasgians with whom we shall presently have to deal in quotations from Herodotos may be taken to mean much the same as the subject population under the rule of the Achaians. At all events we will make that assumption, and will use the name in this sense. “Pelasgian” is to mean only the politically subject, and is not to imply any community of race.¹

We begin with the constitution of the social body. Hellenism as we know it is founded on tribal distinctions, beginning with the great racial divisions of Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian in the wide sense—the general name for all which did not belong to the other two; passing thence to the local state, Athenian, Spartan, and the rest. Each of these again is divided internally by tribe, clan, and family systems of the most complicated nature. Upon these ramifying sub-

¹ See *Troy*, chap. vii., and particularly p. 340. I see no reason to modify the view there suggested.

divisions is based the polity, and largely the religion, of classical Greece.

But of any tribal system there is no trace in Homer.¹ The Achaians appear as a single unit divided only locally; we have already seen that in the kingdom of Odysseus the ruling class, the Achaians, are sharply severed from the Kephallenes, the subject people; and it is the same in the north with the Achaians, Myrmidons, and Hellenes in the dominions of Peleus. With the exception of these and the rather shadowy Epeians,² so far as I can see, Homer knows only local names for his peoples; "men of Pylos," "men of Athens," and so forth.

And with the tribe has vanished a great deal besides. The Achaians shew no signs in Homer of anything corresponding to the minor classification, so important in later Greece, which is recalled to us by the Attic names of *γένος* and *φρατρία*.³ The whole primitive family system, with all its rites and taboos, has disappeared, and the only kinship recognized as carrying a moral obligation is the natural kinship of close blood-relationship, between fathers and sons and brothers.

This is only what we should expect in a people of military adventurers. Family rites and taboos do

¹ This has been well brought out by Chadwick, p. 355 ff., 389.

² The Arkades, as we have seen, are outside the Achaian world; p. 229. The border quarrels of Nestor with the Epeians would seem almost to place them in the same category; but their place before Troy is recognized in the *Iliad* generally. The Kaukones are only a name, and may be reasonably classed with the Arkades.

³ The epithet *ἀφρήτωρ* in *Il.* ix. 63 is quite vague. It may belong to a later addition, or be a reminiscence of older things.

not tend to military efficiency. The soldier of fortune must own no allegiance to any group outside his regiment; he must have no recurrent family feasts to demand his attendance, and his moral sanction must come from the will of his commander. He is chosen for his personal strength and courage; it is the same with his comrades, and they must learn to fight shoulder to shoulder, though they may come from groups whose observances and beliefs are strange and unknown. The efficient soldier must, if he is to conquer foreign lands and settle in them, break away from all the old local ties. In so doing he takes a long step away from the foundations of primitive society and religion.

The Achaian king, like the Teutonic, is surrounded by a body of "companions," *ἑταῖροι*, who are bound to him only by the tie of personal loyalty. When Patroklos leads the Myrmidons into the field, it is not with words of patriotism; his appeal to them begins, "Myrmidons, companions of Achilles," and the motive of the onslaught is to do honour to Peleides, and so to teach Agamemnon, the commander-in-chief, the blunder he has made.¹

But the Patroklos who utters his challenge to the Myrmidons is himself no Myrmidon. He is the chief *ἑταῖρος* because he is most closely bound to Achilles by purely personal affection. Patroklos came to Achilles as a fugitive when still a boy, exiled

¹ *Il.* xvi. 269. So Chadwick, pp. 328, 361, with instructive parallels from Teutonic poetry.

on account of accidental homicide.¹ The Achaian king is always delighted to welcome among his "companions" any such fugitive. Homicide is a local and family affair and brings no disability other than exile from home. In this case the ordinary and natural course was to take service in the personal retinue, the *comitatus*, of a king far enough away to escape the family reprisals. There are plenty of cases of this in Homer. The general case is regarded as a familiar event in *Il.* xxiv. 480,

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἄνδρ' ἄτη πυκινὴ λάβῃ, ὅς τ' ἐνὶ πατρὶ
φῶτα κατακτείνῃς ἄλλων ἐείκετο δῆμον
ἄνδρὸς ἐς ἀφνειοῦ, εἰς ἄμβος δ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντας.

To an ambitious young man, exile under such circumstances is no punishment; a wealthy and generous king can give opportunities of advancement beyond all the hopes of a narrow family circle; and thus even the closest and most sacred of all taboos, that which forbids the shedding of kindred blood, loses its final sanction. No wonder that the more artificial and unreasonable taboos lost all hold, and that the clan system wholly disappeared, when the most heinous offence against it might mean wealth and glory.

We have already had occasion to notice other instances of such foreign service. In the case of Phoinix, though the homicide—here actually of a father—was never consummated, yet it was contemplated; but Phoinix himself speaks of it frankly, with

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 85.

no more than decent remorse, and it certainly did not stand in his way when he presented himself to Peleus and asked to be taken into his immediate service. Tydeus is a yet more striking instance; here again Homer does not tell of any actual homicide, yet the picture he gives of the family feuds in the royal family at Kalydon in Tydeus' time is such as to make family bloodshed far from improbable.¹ Yet Tydeus is taken for son-in-law of the king of Argos, and receives a domain which he hands on to his son Diomedes.

So again it was a homicide which sent Medon, bastard son of Oileus and half-brother of the lesser Aias, from his home to Phylake in the domain of Peleus.² Peleus must have offered great attractions for such men; for another of Achilles' captains was Epeigeus, "who erstwhile dwelt in Budeion,"³ but he had slain his cousin and came as a suppliant to Peleus and to Thetis of the silver feet; and they sent him to go with Achilles to Ilios and fight the Trojans."⁴ Peleus had to guard the exposed land frontier on the side of Thessaly, and lost no opportunity of strengthening himself by such means.

Aias, son of Telamon, too, has for his *θεράπων* Lykophron, son of Mastor, a Kytherian who lived with him because he had slain a man in Kythera. When he falls in battle, Aias cries to his brother, "Dear Teukros, our faithful comrade (*ἑταῖρος*) the son of

¹ *Il.* ix. 565 ff.

² *Il.* xv. 334.

³ The situation of Budeion is quite unknown.

⁴ *Il.* xvi. 572.

Mastor is slain, who came from Kythera to our house, and whom we honoured like our parents.”¹ The bond of comradeship, though with an exile from a distant island, is no less strong than the bond of blood.

There is a curious touch, in one of Odysseus’ feigned stories, which suggests that service under the king was regarded as a matter of favour on the part of the subject, rather than as a duty due by him. In *Od.* xiii. 256 ff. Odysseus tells Athene, little knowing to whom he is speaking, that he is a Cretan who has fled from his home because of a quarrel in which he has slain a son of his king Idomeneus; and one of the reasons of the quarrel was that he had refused to be the *εεράπων* of Idomeneus—or perhaps of his son—and had set up a band of “companions” under his own leadership:

οὔνεκ’ ἄρ’ οὐχ ᾧ πατρὶ χαρίζομενος εεράπευσον
δήμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων, ἀλλ’ ἄλλων ἥρχον ἑταίρων.

Such action is of course the beginning of a fatal disintegration, attacking the whole system of personal leadership at the heart. The process is shewn us in the *Odyssey*, sapping the kingdom of Odysseus in Ithaka; it is put before us as a likelihood in Crete, at the other end of the Achaian world. From the margins the process of decay was soon to reach the centre.

The domination of a small military caste over a large subject population akin to it in blood contains of necessity the germs of its own destruction. Mere

¹ *Il.* xv. 430 ff.

propinquity must act as a solvent; "great is juxtaposition." In the end victory rests with the majority in numbers, and absorption of the minority in one form or another appears to be inevitable. It seems almost possible to fix a limit in years to the period through which the separation can be maintained; it would seem that the time can hardly exceed two centuries. That is about the number of years which passed before the Normans in England became Englishmen; in Sicily their absorption was rather quicker—at all events their rule lasted only four generations, and the direct line of the kingdom established by Count Roger in 1060 died out with William the Good in 1189. The historical personages celebrated in the Teutonic epic seem, according to Chadwick, to be included in about the space of two centuries.¹

In the case of the Achaians we have no historical data to guide us, and are thrown back on the very unsatisfactory resource of reckoning by generations. But it has often been pointed out that the heroes of the Trojan War have no ancestry beyond the third generation, and generally go back only to the second. Diomedes knows that his great-grandfather Portheus was already in possession of Pleuron and Kalydon,² and that is the longest clear genealogy among the Achaians. In the Transmission of the Sceptre the kingship passes through the hands of Pelops, Atreus,

¹ *Heroic Age*, p. 25. The duration of the Dorian power at Sparta constitutes a remarkable exception to the rule.

² *Il.* xiii. 115-8.

and Thyestes to Agamemnon, which would seem to indicate three generations; but Aigisthos is son of Thyestes, so that to Homer as in later tradition Thyestes must have been the brother and not the son of Atreus. Odysseus knows both his grandfathers, Arkeisios and Autolykos; Achilles and Idomeneus trace back in each case to a mortal grandfather, who is in his turn—in the case of Minos somewhat doubtfully—a son of Zeus. One cannot resist the suspicion that when an Achaian chieftain is made son of Zeus it is because he has no more authentic lineage to shew; and that a son of Zeus means in fact a self-made man. So far as genealogies can be taken as a guide at all, they lead to the conclusion that the Achaians were descended from soldiers of fortune who had begun by occupying Pleuron and Kalydon three generations back, and in the next had entered the Peloponnesos. If we add to this the later tradition which said that the great migration marking the end of Achaian dominion took place in the time of the grandsons of Agamemnon, we get for the whole period of their supremacy five, or at the most six, generations from their appearance—a period which falls well within the two centuries and corresponds with the general conclusion from other sources. But the argument is frail at the best.¹

¹ Nestor's grandmother, mother of Peleus, is daughter of Salmoneus, so that we have again the third generation. But this is a Minyan genealogy, not Achaian; both the descent in the female line, and the descent from Poseidon, may probably be marks of Minyan tradition. (For Poseidon as the representative of the Minoan bull-cult, see Miss Harrison, *Themis*, p. 163. Cf. also J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, 36 ff.) If we

All this while the main population of Greece, fixed to the soil and isolated in its cantons, was going on with beliefs and customs undisturbed, unaffected by the change of masters at the castle, except when recruits were wanted for a great expedition. The causes which had shattered the primitive social system of the Achaians, and forced them prematurely into a stage of individualism far in advance of their subjects, had no power to touch the group-society of the Pelasgians—**φυλή, γένος, φρατρία**. This continued intact, biding its time. It was there, though our only authority, the epic of the Achaians, takes no notice of it. Why should it? The Achaian courts probably knew little enough, and cared still less, about the customs of their subjects, unless they were called in at times to settle disputes based on silly family usages, unworthy the notice of a great lord.

But the day came when the transient power of

can reckon Melampus as the son of Amythaon, *Od.* xi. 259, with xxi. 225 ff., would give a continuous genealogy of the family of Salmoneus in another branch covering eight generations; but the necessary link has to be found outside Homer, and Pfister's words (*Reliquienkult*, p. 83), "allein aus der Ilias und Odyssee," require correction. In any case the two lines are hardly consistent. Melampus, if not the first cousin, is at all events the contemporary of Neleus, and a suitor for his daughter; yet his great-grandson, Amphiaraios, falls in the Theban War, a generation before the Trojan in which Neleus' son Nestor is engaged. Nestor is in fact four generations senior to the son of Amphiaraios, who belongs to the generation of the Trojan War. Perhaps a sense of this difficulty is the reason for the description of Nestor in *Il.* i. 250 ff.:

τῶι δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἐφείσθ', οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο
ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγήσενι, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσαν.

This is at least a warning against dependence on genealogies.

the Achaians waned; the picture of the realm of Ithaka shews us the beginning of the process. Indeed the *Iliad* itself gives us vividly, in the portrait of Agamemnon, the inherent weakness of all hereditary military despotisms; it is highly unlikely that, in the course of nature, there will be more than two or three generations in the dominant family endowed with the combination of ability and moral strength required to keep the central power supreme. Evidently Agamemnon is not the man to do that. When the War Lord can be rebuked in Council by his lieutenants for lack of courage, the machine is not likely to remain efficient much longer.

The time came, at all events, whether through the effort of the Trojan War, which had reduced their numbers, or through the lack of moral grit following on too long a tenure of power, when the Achaians had to cast in their lot with their former vassals; and in the social reorganization the system of the majority had to prevail. The group system resumed its sway, and the Achaians were drawn into it; Greece relapsed from the temporary union imposed upon it by its rulers into its normal congeries of loosely coherent cantons, just as the empire of Charlemagne relapsed after his death into the normal subdivisions of feudalism. It was a step backwards no doubt on the ladder of development, so far as the few were concerned; but the fact that the step in advance had once been taken was not without result, and must have vastly aided the rapid growth which

followed the migrations. The leaven had been lost to sight, but it had leavened the whole lump.

To Greece, reconstituted on a basis of cantons and clans, the idea of Greece held together under a ruling power which took no account of clans seemed a strange and unbelievable thing. Hence when later poets tried to depict the Achaian age, they naturally did it on the plan which seemed to them part of the course of nature. This idea it is which the Greek Catalogue puts before us. The first plain and obvious intention of the *Boeotia* is to describe the Greek forces as organized by tribes, while Homer, as we have seen, knows nothing of the tribal bond. And this comes out very plainly in a notable passage, an introduction to the Catalogue, to which reference has already been made.¹ "Separate thy warriors by tribes and clans," says Nestor to Agamemnon, "that tribe may give aid to tribe and clan to clan":

κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμευνον,
ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγηι, φύλα δὲ φύλοισι.

The words shew clearly two things: first, the belief that a tribal division was the only rational basis for an army; and secondly, that it was not to be found in Homer. It has to be introduced somehow, and so these words are put into the mouth of Nestor. Regarded as tactical advice to a general in the tenth year of the war, they are foolishness; but as an indication of the reasons which prompted the composition of the Catalogue and its introduction into

¹ See p. 98.

the *Iliad* they are full of instruction. They sum up the Hellenic ideal in contrast to the Achaian; the city-state in contrast to the military despotism.

But not only in the fabric of the social system was there a wide gap between the rulers and ruled in Achaian days. The religious gulf was equally wide; and indeed in primitive life religion is so closely bound up with the social structure that it could not be otherwise. But it is necessary to treat them apart, because when the amalgamation of the rulers with the ruled came about two different paths were followed. It was not possible that Greece should be governed at once as a military despotism and as an assemblage of city-states; one or other had to disappear. But it was not so with religion. Here it was possible to devise a compromise by which the Achaian religion might be recognized side by side with the "Pelagian." Hellenic religion is, in fact, the resulting compromise, and it is gratifying to see that the recent labours of the anthropological school have succeeded in differentiating the real religion of Greece from the official, and have done much to trace out the tangled skein of their reactions upon one another. The general result is clear; the Achaian religion is represented in Hellenism by the official Olympian system;¹ the lower stratum, ever being

¹ For the present purpose I treat the whole Olympian system presented in Homer as a unity. But it is probably capable of analysis. The trinity—Zeus, Athene, and Apollo—constantly named together, are common to Greeks and Trojans alike; they were, I imagine, deities of the common stock of Greeks and Phrygians before their division in Thrace. On the other hand, the two Greek divinities who are implacably hostile to Troy,

more clearly disclosed and understood, represents the faith of the subject "Pelasgian" population. The former is the religion of soldiers and courtiers, the latter belongs to the tillers of the soil. The two elements have never vitally amalgamated; Hellenic religion is a compromise superficial enough to admit of analysis, even with our limited knowledge.

Something has already been said in Chapter I. about the attitude of Homer towards the gods. The Achaian regards his gods nominally with the greatest reverence, practically with a detachment which covers an almost sceptical independence. On occasion he will speak of them with unmistakable levity, and it has often been remarked that the Homeric passages which can be taken as humorous in intention are confined to scenes in Olympos. The typical case is the lay of Demodokos, the amours of Ares and Aphrodite, in *Od.* viii.; the battle of the gods in *Il.* xxi. almost passes into burlesque. The Achaian is in this respect, one may almost say, a typical man of the world; he makes his gods like himself, typical men of the other world.

His attitude is the natural outcome of his experience. He has fought his way to Greece from the Danubian plains, and in the course of his long

Poseidon and Hera, the "Argive" Hera, may have been added to the pantheon by the Greeks after contact with the Minoans. Miss Harrison has shewn grounds for believing that Poseidon was essentially Minoan. As for Hera, I suspect that she was pre-Minoan, a primitive Pelasgian daimon (a "Year-spirit," as Miss Harrison suggests to me—"Ἡρα = *yār-ā*, "year") worshipped in Argos before the settlers from Crete appeared, and adopted by them in the form of a divinity.

journey he has learnt the futility of the primitive magic; he has come to trust in his right arm, and to mock at the old magic rites and dances and "medicine." Some of the tradition still cleaves; omens from the flight of birds are observed with some interest, but he has reached the point when he can put into the mouth of a hero the words εἰς οἶκόνδε ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς. Dreams are interpreted, but Penelope meets a plain interpretation with the contemptuous ὄνειροι ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι γίνονται.¹ The old superstitions are dead even for the women. The Achaian outlook on the world is essentially human, emancipated, modern.

The phenomenon is not unique; it is a natural stage in the development of society, and through it pass, in one degree or another, the military pioneers of great national migrations. This is the important generalization laid down by Professor Chadwick, who has given the stage the name of "The Heroic Age." He has illustrated his theme by a comparison between the Achaian and the Teutonic "heroes," and has shewn that, in two distant regions, and after an interval of many centuries, similar causes have produced like results. The Teutonic "Völkerwanderung" brought about, like the Achaian, the destruction of the older group-system, and the substitution for it of a religion based on gods in the likeness of men, who are essentially what I have called epiphenomena in the government of the world.

¹ *Od.* xix. 560.

For a full discussion it is necessary to refer the reader to Professor Chadwick's chapters xvi. and xviii. ; the following quotations must suffice here. "The spirit in which the gods are treated (by Homer) is in general very similar to what we find in the *Edda*, and in no way more reverential. Sometimes the treatment is humorous, as in the *Thrymskviða*; sometimes again the deities are treated in a very unfavourable light. For the trick played upon Wodan by Fria in the Langobardic story we have an interesting parallel in *Il.* xiv. 292-353, where Hera distracts Zeus' attention from the war and coaxes him to sleep. . . . Again, the story of Ares and Aphrodite which forms the subject of Demodocos' lay (*Od.* viii. 266-366) is very much what we should expect to find in a poem dealing at length with the scandalous charges brought against the goddesses in *Lokasenna*." ¹

But the old Teutonic religion, as it is found in the *Edda*, has already, it would appear, undergone just such a process of contamination as we have assumed took place in the Greek after the Achaian period. There is in Northern religion "an extraordinary discrepancy between the mythical stories contained in the *Edda* and elsewhere on the one hand and references to actual religious observances on the other. In the former we find the gods grouped together in an organized community of which Othin is the recognized head. . . . On the other hand the refer-

¹ *The Heroic Age*, p. 418.

ences to religious rites point in quite a different direction. In Iceland, for which our records are most full, there is practically no evidence for the worship of Othin. Thor is by far the most prominent figure, and after him Frey. . . . Two explanations have been given of this curious phenomenon. One is that the cult of Othin was introduced into the North at a comparatively late period and that it had not yet obtained a real hold at the time when Iceland was settled. This explanation has no foundation in tradition. . . . The other explanation is that the cults of Othin and Thor belonged to two different classes of the community, the former to princely families and their retinues, the latter to the country people, more especially the (non-official) landowners. This explanation seems to be in complete accordance with the facts."¹

Without overdriving the analogy, we may at least find in this comparison solid encouragement for the thesis that Hellenic religion represents the amalgamation of two strains of thought, the Achaian and the "Pelasgian," the military and the rustic; and we shall note particularly that, in Hellenic as in Teutonic religion, the former is mainly concerned with myth, the latter with ritual. Indeed the problem in Hellenic religion which is at the moment in the foreground is the relation of the two elements. The purely superficial way in which they are joined has been well brought out by Miss Harrison in her

¹ *The Heroic Age*, pp. 394-5.

analysis of the mixture of ideas involved in the combination of the ritual of the Oschophoria with the myth of Theseus.¹

Unlike the soldier of fortune, the tiller of the soil never learns to trust himself, his own strength, skill, and determination. It is not on these that his livelihood depends, but on mysterious and unaccountable powers, some of them beneath the earth, which cause his seed to germinate, some of them in the sky above which rear and ripen it, sun and moon, wind, rain and thunder. These mysterious powers were removed, it seemed, from all human motives and passions; they were occult, and could be approached only by occult means. They were to be conciliated by the traditional formulæ only, by magic dances, symbolic ritual. The spirits of the dead passed beneath the earth, and somehow became allied with the dreaded and arbitrary powers of the underworld. But they might, perhaps, have some thought for the living, and their return to earth might be made less terrible if they were appeased with food and drink. Hence arose that strange blend of field-magic with chthonian worship which enquirers have discovered in Hellenic religion.

When in the course of time Achaians and Pelasgians had somehow to be fused together into Hellenes, it was, one would think, a desperate task to combine such a set of faiths with the radiant and human theology of the Olympians. But it is possible at

¹ *Themis*, 316-327, particularly 322.

least to guess at the bridge by which the reconciliation was effected.

Like the other members of the Indo-European family, the Achaians had doubtless once been worshippers of the dead; but that period was long over for them, and there is no trace in Homer of any chthonian religion. Indeed it is impossible to pay due rites to the spirits of the departed when their tombs have been left far behind in the course of long migrations. The curious scene of Odysseus' descent into the Underworld, and the conjuring of the spirits of the dead, proves nothing to the contrary. For that is relegated to the ends of the earth, on the outermost borders of fairyland. It makes a splendid story to be told to the Phaeacians; but it is not the thing that people did in real countries, in Ithaka for instance. One thing at least is certain; the Achaians had no dread of ghosts, and therefore saw no need of appeasing them. When once the body had passed the lustration of fire, the spirit was banished for ever, a poor helpless thing hovering like a shadow. Nowhere is this more plainly seen than in the famous passage where the spirit of Patroklos appears to his friend: "Then there is after all such a thing as a spirit, even in the halls of Hades"¹—that is not the language of a poet who pretends to have any faith in the reality, much less in the dangers, of those who passed away.

Yet, as we have seen, the tendency to worship the

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 103.

dead is deeply inherent in human nature ; and every generation has new ancestors to worship, so that the practice of hero-worship can always be started afresh. Analogy leads us to suppose that the Achaians would pay great honour to the tombs of their famous men. In the times described by Homer they have been in Greece, as it would seem, only for two generations ; there has been no time for a fixed hero-worship to grow up, and we see only the germs of it, in funeral games (*Il.* xxiii. 630, 679) and in the solicitude of the warrior for a grave which shall preserve his memory for future generations. But that it must have arisen very quickly is shewn by the abundant survival in Hellenic Greece of rites which clearly point to such worship paid at the tomb or cenotaph of great men of the past, real historic men whose deeds had impressed the imagination of their fellows.

All the available evidence tends to shew that the practice of hero-worship, if it did not actually begin, at any rate grew enormously, and reached its zenith, in the period following the Trojan War—the period of the great colonization both in the east and west ; and that it grew up mainly under the sanction of the religious authorities who at this time were also at the very height of their influence. The establishment of hero-shrines probably began as early as the tenth century B.C. ; it certainly lasted till the third ; and in almost every case which we can test it was done by the authority of an oracle.

The oracles assumed an unlimited power in dealing

with hero-worship. A hero's grave was a sanctuary which could be easily moved, or if necessary created. Indeed for the removal of such a worship the intervention of an oracle was not essential. When Kleisthenes was forbidden by Delphi to expel Adrastos from Sikyon, he evaded the oracle by a "device"; he set up beside Adrastos a shrine of his deadly enemy Melanippos from Thebes; he obtained possession of the hero—presumably of his bones—by a mere political agreement with Thebes, to which it is evident that the authorities of Delphi, who were being outwitted, were no parties.¹

But Kleisthenes was of course an exceptionally headstrong and daring statesman; the usual machinery for the displacement of a hero's tomb was a "faculty" from one of the great oracles. We hear of numerous cases in which such an authority was given, and the bones duly transferred. The custom continued into the full light of the historical period. In 476 B.C. the oracle bade the Athenians bring the bones of Theseus home from Skyros; in 437 B.C. a similar instruction was given for the removal of the bones of Rhesos from Troy to Amphipolis.² The translation of the body of the Messenian hero Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene is obviously later than the

¹ ἐλεῶν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλαι τὸν Ἄδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶι φᾶσα Ἄδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λευστᾶρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελεῶν ὁπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρᾶσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν.—Herod. v. 67.

² See Appendix A.

foundation of Messene in 370 B.C.; the sanction of Delphi was duly obtained for the conveyance of the remains of Aratos, after his death in 213 B.C., from Aigion to Sikyon, where he was worshipped with full heroic honours.¹ The other cases are not dated, but there is no reason to think that any of them were very early.²

The oracles were evidently capable of deciding to whom bones discovered in an ancient tomb or elsewhere belonged. The only actual instance of such a case, so far as I am aware, is late in date; a sarcophagus 11 ells in length containing bones was found in a deserted bed of the river Orontes; the oracle of the Klarian Apollo pronounced them to be those of the hero Orontes, an Indian by birth.³ And when we hear that the Spartans had a tomb of Agamemnon at Amyklai, we may reasonably ask whether this means more than that a Mykenaeon tomb had been opened and declared to contain the bones of Agamemnon. Sparta, all-powerful at Delphi, would be glad to possess so good a title for the empire of their state, and as we have seen Lakonia was undoubtedly part of Agamemnon's realm—why should he not have been buried there? One might

¹ Plutarch, *Ar.* 53.

² I take the following from Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 151, note 1, and Pfister, *Reliquienkult im Alt.*: the bones of Orestes taken from Tegea to Sparta; of Hector from Troy to Thebes; of Arkas from Mainalos to Mantinea; of Hesiod from Naupaktos to Orchomenos; of Hippodameia from Midea to Olympia; of Tisamenos from Helike to Sparta; of Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene; of Aratos from Aigion to Sikyon. In all these cases we are told that an oracle gave the authority.

³ Paus. viii. 29, 4. I am again quoting from Rohde.

go further, and even ask whether the intervention of Delphi was required for such a purpose. The Schliemann of that early date who opened this particular tomb—fortunately for us missing the Vaphio tomb with the gold cups—doubtless proclaimed with as much confidence as his follower in the nineteenth century that he had found the bones of Agamemnon, and doubtless did not meet with similar scepticism.

But even bones were not essential when an oracle desired to set up the worship of a hero. There are numerous cases of worship at “empty tombs”—Teiresias and Iolaos at Thebes; the Argives who fell in the Trojan War, at Argos; Odysseus at Sparta; Kalchas in Apulia.¹ And at least in one case we know that Achilles was worshipped “in obedience to an oracle” at an empty tomb in Elis.² To this instance we shall presently return.

Professor Bethe asks us to follow him in basing a whole view of the *Heldensage* on the tombs of heroes all over Greece, to see in them the memory of tribal gods, and finally to deduce that the tribes whom these gods personified were in fact once settled in these particular places. Are we not justified in asking him in return to give us some evidence to shew in the first place that these tombs had not been moved in historical or “sub-historical” times; and in the second to shew that they were not mere creations of the oracles, serving some political, religious,

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 153.

² Paus. vi. 23. 3.

or even antiquarian object not founded on any old tradition? We have a right to be particularly suspicious in the case of famous names like those of the Epos—names which had a reputation throughout Greece. If any one should assert, for instance, that the shrine of Hector at Thebes was not established there till the fifth century, he would at least have the analogy of the other bones brought from Troy in 437—those of Rhesos. What arguments has Bethe to rebut this *prima facie* analogy? And till he has rebutted it, what is his theory of the *Heldensage* worth?

But our present purpose is not to refute Professor Bethe; what is important for us is to note that this growth of hero-worship at tombs, whether empty or not, offered a most convenient bridge for a combination of the two faiths, the Achaian and the Pelasgian. For a death played a most important part in the Pelasgian religion; only it was not the death of a hero, but of something much more primitive than Agamemnon or Achilles.

The researches of Dr. Frazer and others have shewn how large a place in field-magic is played by the symbolical ritual of the annual death and rebirth of what is commonly known as the vegetation spirit—or what Miss Harrison, objecting to that name as too definite and personal, has called by the yet vaguer title of the Eniautos-daimon, the power which brings round seed-time, harvest and rest in their annual course, and has to be maintained in its due

continuance by the magic of the worshipper. And this ritual could naturally be attached to a tomb.

These primitive powers or daimons were in their essence anonymous. The worshipper was at first, it would seem, the same as the worshipped, and the magic dance or other rite meant that the dancer was dancing his daimon, and was thereby identified with him. Herodotos was perfectly right when he said that the Pelasgians had no names for their gods.¹

But a time certainly came when the impulse arose to give names to these vague nature powers. It may have arisen from the gradual evolution of the individual consciousness out of the group-consciousness,² but it must surely have been influenced by close contact with the religion of another and dominant race, who had already developed to the full their sense of individuality and had impersonated it in the clear-cut figures of the Olympian gods.

That the Olympian deities should be simply identified with these primitive objects of worship was out of the question; they were too solidly crystallized, too remote, and altogether too definite. At best they took on pieces of old ritual in what may perhaps be best described as parasitic appendages. But it was possible to arrange a compromise on the basis that the sovereignty was reserved for the Achaian Olympians, who became the official deities of the

¹ ii. 52, ἔθουσι δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας· ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὐνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν.

² See *Themis*, p. 475.

state; the local daimons, though incapable of the royal dignity, could at least be raised to the peerage, and identified with the Achaian heroes. And there is, as we shall see, reason to suppose that this actually took place in many instances.

The position was, however, complicated, at some unknown time during the Dark Ages, by the introduction of a new factor—the spread southwards from Thrace of the worship of Dionysos. This was essentially akin to the old daimon-worship, and in particular it contained and glorified the resurrection theme, the death and rebirth of the god. Moreover, it supplied what the “Pelasgian” religion was seeking, a definite name. To this was no doubt due in large measure its enormous and rapid success. It became a serious rival to the official Olympian religion in its power of attraction for the ritual of the old field-magic and symbolic dances. It was thus regarded as hostile by the powers who were in possession; it was an obstacle to the fusion of Achaian and Pelasgian. Yet it was too powerful and popular to be defied; a compromise was effected by the grudging admission of Dionysos into the Olympian circle, where, however, he was always treated as a parvenu.

There is one famous and most instructive story which shews us the three elements—Achaian, “Pelasgian” and Dionysiac—in their relations to one another. When Kleisthenes determined to supplant, as he could not expel, the worship at Sikyon of the “Argive” Adrastos, this is what Herodotos tells us

of the way in which he effected his object: "The Sikyonians, besides other honours which they gave to Adrastos, worshipped him also with tragic dances referring to his sufferings, paying honour not to Dionysos but to Adrastos. But Kleisthenes assigned the dances to Dionysos, and the other sacrifices to Melanippos."¹

Now here we see two things very clearly. The dances were danced to Adrastos under his own name; but they were still felt in the sixth century to be a separable element, something which did not belong to him as a hero. When a new hero, the deadly enemy of Adrastos, was introduced, it was enough to give him the really heroic honours with which the dances had nothing to do. When the magic dance had first sought for a name to which it could be attached, the local hero had, as elsewhere, furnished the needed nomenclature. But the fusion had never been complete; the hero-worship of Adrastos was independent of the older element, and could be transferred as a whole to the new-comer Melanippos. But that was not the case with the dance; the day was past when it was possible to pretend that the dance belonged to a hero. The worship of Dionysos had made its way; it was closely akin to the old rites of field magic. The ritual dance must be performed in honour of some one; and if it

¹ τὰ τε δὲ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάσα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε τὴν δὲ ἄλλην εὐσίην Μελανίπῳ. v. 67.

was to be taken away from Adrastos, the obvious course was to attach it to the name of Dionysos, so putting it under divine protection, and assuring its permanence against any risk that it might some day be restored to the displaced hero.

Here, then, we see the three elements combined, though with a full sense of their fundamental incongruity—the hero-worship on the one hand, on the other the worship of the nameless daimon, superficially combined with it, but quite ready, like an atom in a molecule, to fly off and recombine with Dionysos, attracted by the force of a natural affinity. This force must have been at work all over Greece, and led to the disintegration, to the gain of Dionysos, of many such unstable combinations of hero and daimon.

We have seen reason to suppose that the identification of hero and daimon was a deliberate work of the oracles, done with a definite purpose. Herodotos supplies us with clear evidence to the same effect. When he tells us that the Pelasgians took the advice of the oracle at Dodona as to whether they should accept the names of the new gods, he tells us what we have seen to be intrinsically probable, and his testimony carries great weight. It is weakened somewhat by the fact that he is at the moment running his theory about the derivation of the Greek gods from Egypt; but at least he shews that the reception of the names of gods was a matter about which the opinion of Dodona had been, on the authority of the temple priests themselves, taken;

and that the oracle had ordered them to accept the new names. And though he mentions Dodona only, there is good reason to suppose that Delphi had at least an equal share in the work.¹

We seem to have at all events one case where Delphi was responsible for the name. Eurypylos at Patrai² is a clear instance of an Eniautos-daimon worshipped under the name of a Homeric hero. He has in connexion with the worship of Dionysos the annual sacrifice on the tomb, which is the mark of the type. He is distinctly identified, in spite of doubts, with the hero of the *Iliad*; and he came, we are told, to Patrai from Delphi. The folk of Patrai had been told by the oracle that a strange king would come to them, bringing a strange daimon. Eurypylos in his madness went to Kirrha, and there asked the god how he was to be healed; he was told that where he found people making a strange sacrifice he was to land the mystic coffer which he bore, and to stay. The wind took him to Patrai, where he found a human sacrifice to Artemis Triklaria in progress; he put an end to the barbarous rite, and was worshipped thereafter in Patrai with heroic honours. Clearly he—that is, his name—did come to Patrai from Delphi; the people asked the oracle,

¹ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐχρηστηρίζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελαγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκοντα, ἀνείλε τὸ μαντεῖον χρᾶσαι, ii. 52. The words ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκοντα are plainly an addition by Herodotos himself in the interests of his theory. Two bronze plates, probably both of the fifth century, have been found at Dodona, in which the Coreyreans ask to what god or hero they are to sacrifice and pray, that they may have prosperity and peace (Collitz, 1562-3).

² See p. 132 above.

"Who is the daimon whom we honour at the tomb, for we wish to have his name." The oracle presented them with the Epic name of Eurypylos, and every one was satisfied.

Another case no less clear is that of Achilles at Elis. Here he has no altar, but "an empty tomb in obedience to an oracle," and is worshipped at sunset by women who, with other rites, hold lamentation for him.¹ The hour of sunset, like the cenotaph, is characteristic of chthonic worship, and it is an oracle which has attached to the great Achaian the mourning and other unnamed *δρώμενα* which belong really to the nameless daimon who has been honoured by this inclusion in the very aristocracy of heroic names.

We are now in a position to understand how it came to pass that we find in post-Homeric times so many heroes of the Epos endowed with the quasi-divine or daimonic attributes which take us back to a more primitive stage in human thought than that of the Achaians themselves; and we can see how it is that mythologists have been tempted to see in them only a "fading" of pre-Hellenic gods. The identification of heroes with older anonymous daimons, authorized in certain cases, clearly took a strong hold of the popular imagination, and led to the wholesale extension of the process alike in Greece itself and in the colonies. It is strange to find Achilles adored

¹ Paus. vi. 23. 3, Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ οὐ βωμός, κενὸν δὲ ἔστιν αὐτῷ μνημα ἐκ μαντείας· τῆς πανηγύρεως δὲ ἀρχομένης ἐν ἡμέραι ῥητῇ περὶ ἀποκλίνοντα ἐς δυσμὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν δρόμον αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Ἡλεῖαι ἄλλα τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως δρώσιν ἐς τιμὴν καὶ κόπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν αὐτόν.

with chthonic rites, as though he were a god of the underworld; it is still stranger to find Lykophron (177) applying to him the title Πελασγικὸς Τύφων. There was presumably some ground for applying to the radiant hero the name of the malevolent snake-god; and it is hardly stranger than the identification in Cyprus of the modest and essentially humane Diomedes with some local deity worshipped with human sacrifices. Such incongruities meet us in Greek religion at every turn; a nation who could identify the virgin huntress of Taygetos with the Great Mother of Asia, the Diana Multimamma of Ephesos, was not likely to stick at trifles when dealing with mere heroes.

The popularity of the individual hero was in fact the measure of the lengths to which mythological imagination would go. Achilles and Diomedes were undoubtedly two of the most popular; Diomedes in particular was a favourite patron for the colonists who sailed for the west, and in his case no contradiction was too violent, if he could be settled in the new home with such added sanctity as could be derived from the absorption of an older object of worship already in possession.

The process was of course not confined to the heroes of the Trojan cycle; indeed it seems to have gone even further and to have been more widely applied to those who belonged to an earlier epoch, particularly to Herakles and Theseus. It is natural that the process should have begun with these names

of the older generation, already misty in their outlines, while the great men of the Achaian race were still comparatively fresh and real in popular memory. But to enter upon an analysis of the Theseus¹ and Herakles myths is not possible here, and would be alike beyond my limits and my competency; it must be left to the experts in mythology. But it is necessary to point out explicitly what has already been hinted—that inclusion in the heroic ranks does not seem to have been confined to the heroes who have the firmest foothold in the legend of Troy. It seems to have been extended to those who are, to all appearance, creations of the Epos itself, characters added to the story for purely poetic reasons. Achilles and Diomedes are, I have no doubt, the legendary names of heroes who fought before Ilios; Helen must have been in the story from the first. Hence we are not surprised to find Achilles and Diomedes taking attributes of strange gods, nor Helen worshipped in Rhodes under the form of an older tree-spirit. But we have seen ground for thinking that Eurypylos was created by a poet only for the sake of a particular episode in the *Iliad*; yet Eurypylos appears as an Eniautos-daimon at Patrai. And it is hardly possible to suppose that Penelope had any substantial existence

¹ I may, however, call attention to Mr. Frost's plea (*J.H.S.* xxxiii. 194) that Theseus should be regarded as a real historical person, the leader who overthrew the Minoan power in Knossos. He is, as Mr. Frost says, "the most clearly defined, the most closely localized, and the most human of all the heroes of the older generation." With this I am entirely in sympathy; but the evidence seems to me to be of a lower order than in the case of the Homeric heroes, and an almost equally good case could be made out for Herakles.

before the composition of the *Odyssey*. Yet she too played a prominent and strange part in popular mythology.

Herodotos (ii. 145) tells us that Pan was the son of Penelope, and deduces therefrom the correct conclusion that Pan did not become an Hellenic god till after the Trojan War. Yet Pan was considered in Egypt the most ancient of all the gods; and in this opinion of the Egyptians we shall not hesitate to agree. But of course it does not follow that he came to Greece from Egypt. He was a primitive Arcadian daimon, perhaps once actually a goat, and developed out of a totem goat-dance. What his name means, and how he got it, it seems useless to enquire. But the fact that he had a mother at all points to his having at least passed through a stage when he was a partner in a Mother-and-Son group, such as is found so commonly in primitive religion, and is typical of a matriarchal society. When the time came for incorporation in the new Hellenic community, the Arcadians had to affiliate themselves by taking on some famous Achaian name for the hitherto anonymous mother. Odysseus himself had been adopted as a "founder" in various parts of Arcadia, and the prophecy of his future wanderings in the *Odyssey*¹ naturally made the adoption easy. He was to go to a people "who know not the sea," and there to found holy rites. No people had a better claim to the description than the Arcadians;

¹ xi. 121 ff.

no wonder then that we find Odysseus as the founder of temples at Pheneos and Asea.¹ The next step followed easily; when the Arcadians wanted a name for a mother-goddess, what more natural than that they should borrow that of the most famous of Epic matrons, Penelope? Here we need not call in the intervention of any oracle. Popular fancy searching for a name was quite capable of catching the resemblance between Πάν and Πανελόπα, and the identification was ready made. That in the end the story branched out into all the ugly figments, which, beginning it would seem from the notorious Duris of Samos, besmirched the fair name of one of the noblest and purest of poetic creations, is unfortunately only too characteristic of the popular fancy unbridled by any religious sanction.² It is vulgar in the strictest sense.

The assumption which we have made to account for the amalgamation of Epic heroes with Pelasgian daimons is at least a *vera causa*. It is only an early instance of the Greek passion for syncretism in religion, for the identification of the gods of one race with those of another by hook or by crook, of which Herodotos gives us so lively an expression. This seems strange to us, with our clear-cut feeling of the barriers between religions; but it becomes less strange if we regard it as the outcome of a period

¹ Paus. viii. 14, 5; 44, 4. Cf. Frazer's note on the former passage and the reference to Svoronos' paper, "Ulysse chez les Arcadiens," in *Gaz. Arch.* 13 (1888), 257 ff.

² It is sufficient to refer to the article "Penelope" in Roscher's *Lexikon*.

when this identification of antagonistic elements was a condition for the making of the Hellenic nation. The Hellenes themselves, like many another nation, were a political syncretism, and religious fusion was the necessary foundation of their existence. The process was a long one—we have for it the whole period from the tenth or even the eleventh century till the eighth or seventh. Within these limits there is room enough; and we need not hesitate to say that it was still active at a time when the Epos was so developed that the purely poetical characters had passed, for the popular imagination, into the same rank as those who belonged from the first to the Tale of Troy.

One further remark may be permitted, though it lies outside my proper scope. One of the burning questions of the moment is the origin of Tragedy. Professor Ridgeway has started and urged with great ability the theory that tragedy originated not, as is commonly supposed, in Dionysos festivals, but in hero-worship; that the central point of the stage is not the altar of a god, but the tomb of a hero, a real dead man whose spirit it was desired to please and propitiate by the repetition of funeral games. That the central point was, at least in many cases, a tomb, and that this tomb was, at least in many cases, connected with the name of a particular hero, seems to me, as will be evident from what I have said, highly probable. But the tomb served a double purpose; it was the tomb of the old Resurrection

ritual doing duty also as the tomb of a hero—sometimes a Trojan hero, sometimes one from an earlier or, as in the *Persae*, a much later age. The connexion was a purely artificial one, and was felt to be so. The dances which were the origin of the Tragic chorus belonged not to the heroic side of the tomb, but to its ritual side, and the people never lost consciousness of this. The story about Kleisthenes proves the fact with perfect clearness. The dances and the “sufferings” of Adrastos—the real origin of the tragedy—did not belong to him in their essence, and when he was displaced, the natural reversion of this part of his worship was not to Melanippos but to Dionysos, the heir of the old magic ritual. It seems, therefore, open to those who maintain the Dionysiac origin of Tragedy to accept all that Professor Ridgeway has said about the tomb and the hero, and still to maintain their position. The ritual dance was never the property of the hero; it was no more than a loan to him.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACHAIAN EPOS

THE outlook of the Homeric poems is purely European. The Asiatic shores of the Aegean are a hostile land; not only is it from Europe that the expedition to Troy sets out, but it is to Europe that it returns. The stories of the homeward journeys of the Achaian chieftains were an integral part of the Trojan legend; the *Nostoi* were a prolific theme, and the subject is much more than a mere germ in the *Odyssey*; it forms the most interesting matter for the earlier books. The Trojan expedition is not an episode in colonization; it is a military campaign, and from the military point of view it is completed when Troy has fallen. Greece is a self-contained European country, with not a single foothold towards the east, and completely ignorant of what lies to the west.

Within Greece itself, moreover, it is western Greece, the part farthest removed from Asia Minor, which is the most familiar. The action of the *Odyssey* ranges from Ithaka to Sparta; it may almost be said that Pylos is the central point. Allowing for the difference of subject, the same is not far from true of the *Iliad*;

for the best of what we hear of doings in Greece itself centres round the various exploits which Nestor tells of his youth, his wars with Arcadians and Epeians. If we had to fix, from what we can tell of the personal interest shown in the poems, on a home for their author, apart from tradition, we should surely say that he was most at home in Pylos and the west. Whatever we may think of the Nestor episodes in the *Iliad*, it cannot be denied that there is a particular fondness for bringing them in, in season and sometimes perhaps out of season. They are told with a vivacity and relish which has a quite special gusto, the charm and vividness which irresistibly suggests that the author had a more than ordinary knowledge and liking for them.

And just as the European outlook is consistently maintained throughout both poems, so there is no conscious variation in the historical period represented. The stage of Greek development which intervened between the war of Troy and the beginning of the great migrations is never lost sight of, at least in intention; whether unconscious indications of a later age may not have slipped in is another question, which need not here be discussed. That the desire of both poems is to represent this particular period, free from reference to anything that happened later, is patent. And the period is one of extraordinary interest.

A great movement of migration has always, of course, an economic basis, the betterment of the con-

ditions of life. But it has another and even more important cause—a psychological impulse, in addition to the economical. It is not in times of depression and humiliation that colonial expeditions are set on foot. There are periods—indeed they may be regarded as normal—when a people will starve and dwindle under the pressure of poverty or invasion rather than seek new homes. It may almost be said that the desire for betterment is in itself abnormal and exceptional. That it should be felt by a whole people at once is evidence of some great spiritual movement; it is evidence that some psychical ferment is at work. It is possible for such a ferment to set a whole nation on the move without any great change in their economic surroundings. The clearest case of this is the great arising of the Arabs under the influence of Islam; a purely religious force sent them in an irresistible stream over all the neighbouring countries, from Persia on the east to Spain on the west. They had borne for centuries the poverty of their own land without any desire to overpass their borders, till the moral and intellectual impulse given by Mohammed set them moving with such amazing results. It was the same with the Crusades. It was the same with Europe in the great intellectual movement which began in the second half of the fifteenth century. Spain did not set out to discover and colonize America because of any pressure at home; on the contrary, Spain was freeing herself from domestic invaders at the very moment when she was

expanding to the west, and Columbus was sent on his journey by Isabella from Granada, just captured under the eyes of the explorer himself.

We have a right to assume that something of the same sort was the impulse which sent the Greeks across the sea from Europe to Asia. That movement is commonly ascribed to the pressure of the Dorian invasion. The assumption seems to me to invert the real sequence of cause and effect. The cause of the great migration must have been mainly psychological, the ferment of new ideas making the population of European Greece hopeful, ambitious, eager to do better; not defeat, or oppression from without, or starvation. The movement started of itself; the invasion from the north was not its cause, but its consequence. The displacement of population made room for the new-comers, but was not directly due to their coming.

That such a ferment was at work in Greece we have already seen. It was an inevitable result of the new and revolutionary attitude of the Achaian mind working upon the stagnant "Pelasgian" tillers of the soil. It made the whole nation discontented with its narrow boundaries, and started the impulse to expand which first expressed itself in the expedition against Troy—the essential prelude, as we have seen in Chap. II., to any colonization towards the east. The Greeks came back from that expedition worn but hopeful. The Achaian lords had suffered heavily, no doubt, in numbers and resources; their

power was broken ; but they had not sacrificed themselves for nothing. They had shown their subjects the new world, and inspired them with new ambitions and new hopes. It was now the turn of the lower folk.

We have all read and enjoyed Professor Gilbert Murray's fascinating account of the migration across the Aegean, in the second chapter of *The Rise of the Greek Epic*. Yet, vivid and attractive though the picture is, I doubt if it applies to more than a small part of the great movement. Some flittings may have taken place under the almost barbarous circumstances which he imagines ; but these do not, I think, represent the movement as a whole. A great national migration is not carried out by mere pirates, who find their way, they hardly know whither, "moving by night and hiding in caves during the day." Colonists on the large scale go as conquerors, **βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες** in Mimnermos' words,¹ not as malefactors ; they are conscious of their own worth, and confident in the future before them. My own picture would be more prosaic. I should imagine traders first landing and opening relations with the "natives" at the points to which the Cretan sailors had already brought their wares—Miletos, as we know, was one of them—then finding fresh points on the coast from which the Hittite power, recently vanished, had for long excluded all foreigners. Primitive relations of trade by barter lead in due

¹ ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες.—Fr. 9.

course to regular factories, where goods can be stocked, and permanent trade carried on. This implies residence. Partly no doubt by force, but more generally by friendly bargain, grants of land are obtained; the trader settles in what is now to be his permanent home, and sends across the sea for his wife and family to live with him. And so it goes on by a well-known process. Reports of the new rich lands are carried to Greece, and fire the imagination of those who have stayed behind; the movement grows and becomes national, and the trader's vessel grows into flotillas of emigrant ships. Whole groups of adventurers start in concert to found in one stroke a new city on a site which has already been acquired. In short, the breach of continuity between the new homes and the old is much less complete than is generally assumed.

The ferment which leads to great colonizing movements has its intellectual and literary side as well. The conquests of Islam placed Arabic science ahead of all the world; the foundation of Virginia was contemporaneous with Shakespear, of Pennsylvania with Milton. We are within our rights if we say that the foundation of the Greek Epos was contemporaneous with the impulse of the Greek migration: that it dates from the century or so which, according to tradition, passed between the fall of Troy and the full tide of settlement in Asia Minor. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* faithfully represent this period, because it is the period in which they actually came into being

—in the germ at least, if not in their present shape.

There is no reason for surprise if we find the Homeric poems, some centuries later, domiciled in Asia Minor; nor need we hesitate to believe that the circumstances under which they had come into being in Europe were still represented intact after a long period of time, and had been, in intention at least, if not wholly in fact, kept from contamination with the very different surroundings of life in the new home. Young colonies are not a good soil for composition; they have other things to do than to sing about themselves. It is not till they have already had a long life that they settle down to creative literature, and when they do, it is on their own lines rather than on those of the old country. But for that very reason, in the beginning they preserve all the more faithfully the literature which links them to the old world. To the first settlers in Asia the Epic poems which they brought with them were a faithful picture of the land they had left, and were carefully cherished for that very reason. To have interfered with them by introducing what only belonged to Asia would have rendered them worthless; it would have destroyed the sentiment which was their great value.

It might be enough to leave the matter here, and merely to say that, if the Greek colonists in Asia Minor behaved like the other colonists of whom we know, their poetry in the early days must have been the poetry of the land from which they came, pre-

served as an heirloom from the old home. But it may be worth while to go a little further, and suggest the means by which it was preserved. This can be no more than a guess; but we are dealing with the Dark Ages, where we have nothing but guesswork and probabilities to guide us, and positive proof is out of the question.

The division between Achaian and "Pelagian" seems to have been almost entirely lost in the epoch of the great migrations; but it left its memories. On the mainland, as Herodotos tells us, a remnant of the Achaians held together, and fought their way into possession of the northern coastland of the Peloponnesos, which thenceforth was called by their name, though the inhabitants preserved no marked individual character, and spoke a dialect practically the same as that of their neighbours. To all intents and purposes these Achaians disappear from history till the brilliant but ineffective days of Aratos and Philopoimen.

In the colonies the Achaian name wholly vanished, absorbed in the new classification of Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian. But even here some faint survival of the old order of things can be traced. The kingship of the old families did not die out at once. The traces of it in the historical age are not the less significant because they are purely honorific, and divorced from any political function.

It is in the cities of Aeolis that we should naturally expect to find the clearest survivals of the ancient

kingship; for it is with the Aeolic migration that the descendants of Agamemnon were particularly connected by tradition; his grandsons led the expedition which, setting out from Aulis, ended with the occupation of north-west Asia Minor. But our expectation is not verified; the only trace of any Achaian kingship in this colonial group, so far as I am aware, is the statement in Pollux that Midas of Phrygia married a daughter of king Agamemnon of Kyme.¹ And even this amounts to very little, for the post of "king" of Kyme was not honorary, nor indeed wholly honourable. There were several of them at a time, and they seem to have exercised judicial functions. But they were treated with scant respect. There was in Kyme an official called the phylaktes, who was in fact the public gaoler. It was his duty to come into the "night meeting" of the Council—presumably once a year—and arrest the "kings," keeping them in custody till the Council had decided whether they were carrying out their functions honourably.² So there is not much left of the Achaian kingship at Kyme except the name Agamemnon.

In Ionia, however, the case is different. Here there is clear evidence that kingship survived, as a

¹ τάχα δ' ἂν τις φιλότιμον εἶναι νομίζοι καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ νομίσματι λόγον ἐπιζητεῖν, εἴτε Φεῖδων πρῶτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἔκοψε νόμισμα, εἴτε Δημοδίκη ἡ Κυμαία συνοικήσασα Μίδαι τῷ Φρυγί (παῖς δ' ἦν Ἀγαμέμνωνος Κυμαίων βασιλέως) κτλ.—ix. 83.

² ἦν δὲ καὶ φυλάκτου τις ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ ταύτην ἔχων τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐτήρει τὸ δεσμοτήριον, εἰς δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῷ νυκτερινῷ συλλόγῳ παριῶν ἐΞῆγε τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς χειρὸς καὶ κατεῖχε, μέχρι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ διαγνοίῃ πότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ οὐ, κρύβδην φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον.—Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 2.

hereditary title, till near the Christian era, at least in Ephesos. The philosopher Herakleitos is recorded by Diogenes Laertius to have abdicated the kingship in favour of his brother.¹ Herodotos tells us something about these Ionian kings. Some of them, he says, were Lykian, descendants of Glaukos, son of Hippolochos, others Pylian Kaukones, of the line of Kodros, son of Melanthos.² But the fullest information about the kings of Ephesos is that given by Strabo.

At Ephesos, he says, is the **Βασιλειον**, the royal seat of the Ionians. The name of "kings" is still given to the members of "the race," and they enjoy certain honours—the presidency at the games, the royal purple for their garments, a sceptre instead of a staff, and the conduct of the rites of the Eleusinian Demeter.³ And the reason which he gives for this hereditary honour is that Androklos, the legitimate son of Kodros, had led the Ionian migration and become the founder of Ephesos. There is a distinct tradition of a continuous hereditary kingship in the Ionian cities dating back to pre-colonization days; and the members of these royal families enjoyed special honours till quite a late date, at least in Ephesos. That the institution of kingship was common to the

¹ σήμερον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν διαδοχαῖς ἐκχωρῆσαι γὰρ τὰδελφῶι τῆς βασιλείας.—ix. 1, 6.

² Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθεου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους.—i. 147.

³ διόπερ τὸ βασιλειον τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκεῖ συστῆναί φασι· καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, προεδρίαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπωνα ἀντὶ σκίπτρου καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος.—xiv. 1, 3.

whole of the Ionian cities, and was not a peculiarity of Ephesos, though it lasted longest there, is distinctly implied by Herodotos.

One can form on general grounds a fairly confident guess at many of the characteristics which must have marked out such a caste in the midst of a community devoted to enterprise of every sort, commercial and colonial. They must have stood aside from all this democratic movement, treating the commercial classes with proud aloofness, and probably regarded by them in turn with an amused but apparently not unkindly indifference. Herakleitos is, in fact, the embodiment of the spirit of such a caste; his aristocratic scorn, his μεγαλοφροσύνη, as Diogenes calls it, went so far that he disdainfully rejected even the title of king.

One thing at least such a caste will do, if only as a symbol of their superiority; they will devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of art and intellect. But they will do it on the most conservative lines; they will keep to the forms and traditions of their ancestors as to a precious heirloom, polishing and improving, but inventing neither new material nor new forms. If their royal ancestors kept court poets in their pay, their descendants in Asia will surely do the same, not less tenaciously than the German prince who, deprived of all but the name of sovereignty, at least maintains his opera-house. This is the spirit under which "Homer" worked, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, at least in their large lines, probably in much of their actual form, came into existence.

Under such conditions it need cause no surprise if the tradition of the Achaian age was religiously preserved intact. The framework of Achaian society, the memory of the actors in the great drama of the Trojan War, the very details of the palaces, and the armour and the daily habits of the Achaian courts formed an immutable framework on which embroidery might be laid, but which was itself sanctified and unalterable. The tradition was the hall-mark of the aristocratic poet, and it was all the more tenaciously maintained because he had to compete with other poets who were not aristocratic.

One further remark may be added. The Ionian kings were, as we have seen from Herodotos, either Lykian or the descendants of Kodros. So far as the Lykian kingship is concerned, we can see the effects of a compromise. The Lykians were, as we have already seen,¹ the power in possession of these coasts, at least so far as trade was concerned. The struggle with the incoming Greeks, which must have taken place, was evidently settled by some sort of agreement; the Greeks were admitted—they were probably too strong in their possession of Rhodes to be excluded—but they came in as subjects, accepting the nominal rule of Lykian kings.

But they also brought kings of their own, and these all traced back their genealogy, either directly or through the Athenian Kodros, to Nestor and Pylos. The Ionians were, as Herodotos tells us, a mixed

¹ See p. 62.

people; they included Abantes from Euboea, who did not share even the Ionian name; mingled with them were Minyans from Orchomenos, Kadmeans, Dryopes, detached Phokians, Molossi, Pelasgians of Arkadia, Dorians of Epidauros, and many other peoples.¹ But all these diverse elements were united under kings who traced back their descent to Nestor and to Pylos, the king and the kingdom which, as has been already said, are treated with particular predilection, and show something of a personal interest in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* alike.² Pylos was one of the cities which put in its claim to be the birthplace of Homer. It is only, no doubt, a fancy, yet it seems at least a reasonable one, that the court of Pylos may have been in fact the birthplace of "Homer," in the sense that it was from the court poets of the Neleid family that the existing poems took their rise, and that the descendants of these poets carried the beginnings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Ionia in the train of the emigrant kings.

Let us follow out this idea in more detail, taking as our guide the important generalization in which, starting from the Teutonic Epos, Professor Chadwick has traced out the evolution of epic poetry through four stages. It is necessary to quote his own words at some length³ :—

¹ Herod. i. 146. See also the list in Strabo xiv. 1, 3.

² Cf. Mimnermos, Fr. 9 (*ap.* Strabo xiv. 1, 4)—

ἡμεῖς αἰπύ τε * Πύλον Νηληϊῶν ἄστῃ λιπόντες
ἰμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.

³ *The Heroic Age*, 94 ff.

“To Stage I. belong the court poems of the Heroic Age itself; to Stage II. the epic and narrative poems based on these; to Stage III. the popular poetry of the eighth and following centuries; to Stage IV. the German poems of the twelfth and following centuries, composed at a time when heroic subjects had again come into favour with the higher classes.

“To Stage I. we may assign not only laudatory poems dealing with the victories and valour of living princes, but also such compositions as Gelimer's dirge and choric songs like the funeral chant over Attila. From this stage probably nothing has come down to us. . . . We can form an idea, however, of these earliest poems from the poetry of the Viking Age, which seems to have been composed under very similar conditions. . . .

“Stage II. is represented by the Anglo-Saxon poems, which are clearly products of court life. . . .

“Stage III. is directly represented only by certain ballads, such as the *Seyfridslied*, which in their present form date from a time considerably later than the poems belonging to Stage IV. Much indirect evidence, however, can be obtained from various sources of earlier date. . . . So far as we can judge from our authorities the popular poems seem to have differed in many ways from those which we have been discussing. They tended to simplify complex stories by the loss of minor characters, and to amalgamate stories which were originally quite unconnected. Again, they appear to have had a preference for

biographical sketches, whereas the court poems are usually occupied with accounts of adventures which lasted only a few days. . . .

“Stage IV. is represented by the Middle High German epic poems, which both in form and spirit show all the characteristics of the age in which they were composed.¹ In England this stage was never reached. . . .

“There can be no doubt that the poems of Stage IV. are derived from those of Stage III. But the question may be raised whether the latter were necessarily derived from poems of Stages I. and II.—whether some heroic poems may not have been entirely of popular origin. It may be freely granted that the poetry of Stage II. was constantly exposed to popular influence, especially in the form of folk-tales. . . . On the whole, however, I am inclined to doubt whether we possess a single heroic story which has not been treated in court poetry at an earlier stage in its career.”

With the way in which Professor Chadwick applies this analogy to the development of the Greek epic I am in general entirely in agreement. That the Achaian epic, like the German, is essentially a court epic has long seemed to me beyond any doubt. “Stage I.” is represented in Greece by the minstrels, Demodokos and Phemios, who sing the Tale of Troy in the palaces of Ithaka and Scheria, in the presence of the men who have taken part in it; and by the

¹ The *Nibelungenlied* is included in these.

κλέα ἀνδρῶν with which Achilles employs his time when he has retired from the field.

Stage II. is the period of "Homer," of the development into the great Epos of the songs of the minstrel. That this connexion is vital, that the Epos was itself court poetry and grew out of court poetry—that it did not originate from popular lays but from the Achaian palaces—this has long been for me an article of faith. More than twenty years ago I wrote: "There is thus no inherent difficulty in the theory that the poems are directly deducible from the bards who sang in the palaces of the Achaian princes of Mykene and Sparta."¹ It was necessary then to say that "not many years ago it would have been considered absurd, and even now it may be held rash, to suppose that we have in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* a direct legacy from Achaian times."² Opinion has grown since then, very slowly, it is true; but it is growing, and I see no need to repeat the apology, now that other critics are independently taking the same position.

Professor Chadwick's Stages III. and IV. are those in which the subjects of the old poems are taken up by popular poets and treated without restraint or binding convention, losing their hold on the courtly circles till they again come into fashion at a later date, and are made the basis for a wholly new treatment; the subjects are taken, but are clothed in a new literary form, and treated in a modern spirit,

¹ *Companion to the Iliad*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.* p. 9.

according to the views and feeling of the age which has adopted them.

Professor Chadwick finds his fourth stage in Attic Tragedy, which is built on materials epic in the names but in not much else—new in form and metre, and not hesitating to confuse events and characters in a manner which is somewhat startling when we remember that this age had our Homer before it, and professed to pay it reverence. Here we need not doubt to follow the lead of *The Heroic Age*, and to admit that its author has found and established a striking analogy. But our immediate interest at the moment is in the popular Stage III.; and this requires full consideration.

Amid all the obscurity of the Dark Ages in Greece we can see one thing clearly—the popular fancy had been running riot. It had taken the persons of the old tradition and dealt with them after its fashion, transforming them and combining them into fresh stories with new and strange attributes, wholly unknown to Homer. When the curtain rises again on the historic period, we find that during the interlude the heroes of the Epos and of the pre-Achaian period alike have been transmuted wholesale; the simple human forms of Homer have been decked out in the strangest way. We have seen instances of this in the last chapter; Helen, the human Queen of Sparta, has taken on her from religion the attributes of a tree-goddess, and from saga the birth from an egg. She has, more-

over, been brought into another series of legends altogether; she has entered the Theseus cycle, of which Homer knows nothing. This brings about hopeless difficulties in chronology; however infantine Helen is made at the time of her abduction by Theseus, it is impossible that she should still have been in the heyday of her beauty at the time of the Trojan war. The ancient critics, who took these things seriously, racked their brains over Aithre, daughter of Pittheus, who appears as the handmaid of Helen in the *Iliad*.¹ For the myth-makers had turned this Aithre into the mother of Theseus; but Theseus himself belonged to an older generation; how could his mother still be the handmaid of Helen?² But that is the sort of thing which, though the Epic poet would not commit so gross an error, causes no qualms to the popular myth-maker.

The story of Aithre as the mother of Theseus, and yet a servant of Helen at Troy, is already found in the *Iliupersis*, from which Polygnotos painted it in the Lesche at Delphi.³ By the same date Palamedes had already been brought to Troy, only to be treacherously slain by Odysseus; though he again belonged to a wholly earlier age.⁴ New peoples too, half fabulous, had found the entry to the great legendary war—Penthesileia with the Amazons, Memnon with the nations of the east, from Susa.⁵

¹ iii. 144.

² ἀπίθανόν ἐστίν Ἑλένης ἀμφίπολον εἶναι τὴν οὕτως ὑπερарχαίαν, ἣν οὐκ ἐκποιεῖ ζῆν διὰ τὸ μακρὸς τοῦ χρόνου.—Schol. A *ad loc.*

³ Paus. x. 25. 7-8.

⁴ Paus. x. 31. 1.

⁵ Paus. x. 31. 5-8.

Tantalos, as we have seen, has already become the father of Pelops in the *Kypria*.¹

It is, however, needless to multiply instances; it is enough to note that the whole process of contamination of myth is characteristic of the popular fancy at all times. Chadwick has given instances of it from Teutonic poetry, where we can control the facts by known dates. Dietrich of Bern, *i.e.* Theodoric of Verona, born about 455, is taken to the court of Attila, who died in 453, and by his help wins the Rabenschlacht—that is, he captures Ravenna from Odoacer—in 493. He is even brought into contact with Eormenric, who died in 376.² The popular minstrel is intent only upon effect; and nothing is more effective than to bring together in personal converse the famous men of old times. He is not troubled by any questions of chronology. The enormous mass of divergent and contradictory legend which bewilders the enquirer into Greek mythology shows how the mythopoeic faculty of the nation revelled during the fermentation of the Dark Ages.

It is fortunate for us that there should have been quiet backwaters which have saved for us at least some relics of the older world not wholly overwhelmed by the new currents. It is nothing unique that a literary tradition should subsist undisturbed by the vagaries of popular fancy. At other times genuine history has survived in spite of the efforts of the folk-imagination to obscure and distort it.

¹ See pp. 69 ff. *ante*.

² See *The Heroic Age*, p. 23.

Greek fancy seized upon Alexander, and clothed him with the strangest robes of magic and legend. The history of him known as the "pseudo-Kallisthenes" had a vogue far greater than that of the real man; the tales spread and changed till in Persian tradition we find him associated with a mysterious figure, "the Green Old Man," apparently the Prophet Elijah combined with St. George of Cappadocia, and going with him on the great search for the Water of Life. "Khizr Elias" found it, and lives still, but Alexander died before he could find the spring. Yet all the time the real history of Alexander was familiar to men of learning in Persia as well as in Constantinople.

The Dark Ages which succeeded the Christian era were another period of myth-making on the largest scale, taking historical personages as a nucleus and clothing them with stories of the wildest and most unbridled licence, a very delirium of myth. Of Dietrich of Bern we have already spoken; it was told of him that he breathed flame, and of course he fought giants and dragons. But it was Charlemagne who showed the most magnetic attraction for tales of every sort. He absorbed the historical legend of his great ancestor, Charles Martel. Fabulous incidents, we are told, crept even into the panegyrics which the court poets offered him during his lifetime. He became the great champion of Christendom against the Saracen; he was taken on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, "and even his Norman and Saxon enemies became

Saracens in current legend. He is the Christian emperor directly inspired by angels; his sword Joyeuse contained the point of the lance used in the Passion; his standard was Romaine, the banner of St. Peter, which, as the oriflamme of Saint Denis, was later to be borne in battle before the kings of France."¹ The historical but unimportant defeat at Roncesvalles was the germ of a whole cycle of tales; it impressed the popular imagination because "it chanced to find as its exponent a poet whose genius established a model for his successors, and definitely fixed the type of later heroic poems."² The vast literature of the Charlemagne cycle is the completest illustration of "Stage III."—of the bold ventures of popular ballad-makers into the realms of history, of wholesale creation, compilation, and amalgamation applied to facts the reality of which can still be ascertained and analyzed. We are assuming no more when we suppose that the Dark Ages of early Greece worked in the same way upon the facts of Achaian history and the tales of the Achaian Epos.

Another case, nearer home and at least equally instructive, is that of Virgil. His was one of the figures which caught the imagination of the Middle Ages, and the strange forms which the legend of him took have been recorded by Comparetti.³ Marcellus becomes governor of Naples under Augustus, and Virgil is his prime minister. Virgil is a mighty

¹ *Encyc. Brit.* v. 895.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Virgilio nel medio evo* (trans. by E. F. M. Benecke, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*).

magician—he builds a tower from which all danger approaching the city can be seen beforehand; he makes a brazen fly which keeps all flies out of Naples; he even has adventures with a lady in the style of the *Decamerone*, and revenges himself for her scorn by a very strange and unpleasant display of his powers. Yet at the very time when these odd stories were being sung over half Europe, Dante, in aristocratic aloofness, was keeping alive the memory of the real Virgil, the *altissimo poeta*, the *anima cortese Mantovana*. Dante's Virgil is the living man, transformed only as Dante imagined that such a man would be transformed by thirteen centuries in the "first circle."

In mediaeval Europe the two streams never united; the true literary tradition survived, and the popular fancy died out, except as a study for the curious historian. In ancient Greece it was not so. The songs of the market-place were revived and again transformed into material for tragedy, on which they left many marks. The tragedians, while singing the heroes of the Trojan War, were undisturbed by the real Epic tradition. They confused, for instance, Argos and Mykene, though both towns were in existence when tragedy came into being. Their Odysseus, one of the most characteristic figures of the drama, is a wholly different Odysseus from that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. So far, then, we may agree with Professor Chadwick that this popular mythopoeic stage corresponds to his Stage III.

But we must make some distinction when he

takes for evidence of the popular poetry of Stage III. the various works which go by the name of the Cycle and Hesiod. They are neither court poetry nor popular poetry, but have affinities with both. They are, in fact, an important part of the compromise between the two elements of the Hellenic world, an essential factor in the reconciliation of opposites from which that world sprang.

So far as form goes, they are wholly dependent on the Court Epos. They use the same metre, and still more significantly the same dialect—the curious and still unexplained dialect which is, on the whole, essentially Ionic, but yet does not agree with any known form of Ionic attested by inscriptions. They imitate closely the turns of speech of the Epos, and repeat the fixed phrases as common property. They even to a large extent use the same legendary basis, the story of the Trojan War.

But they bring into their scope much that is strange to Homer, both in matter and thought. The Court Epos, indeed, is still in the place of honour; in the prelude to the *Theogony* all the Muses are named, but “Kalliope is the noblest of them all, for she is in the retinue of venerable kings”; ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπαρέων, ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ᾗμ’ αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.¹ But Thaleia and Terpsichore and Erato and the rest have joined company with her, and brought quite new meats to the banquet of song.

Of the poems classed under the name of the Cycle

¹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 79-80.

it is difficult to speak with confidence, so scanty and fragmentary are their remains. Their subjects are mostly, though not wholly, taken from the old legend, and it is not impossible that they may have been, to a large extent at least, real relics of court poetry. Perhaps Arktinos of Miletos, Lesches of Mitylene, even Stasinos of Cyprus, may be names of court poets. But, in the end at all events, new ideas must have entered the charmed circle. There are at least traces of them in the fragments that have survived—the idea, for instance, of purification for blood, of which Homer knows nothing. And we have already had occasion to point out the intrusion of later tradition into the *Iliupersis* and the *Kypria*.¹

With the collection known by the name of Hesiod the case is different. Here we have at all events two long poems in a more or less consistent shape, and can judge; and it is certain that both are a fusion of the new with the old on a large scale. The *Works and Days* is perhaps the most remarkable of the two, for here the thoughts and labours and superstitions of the subject population are described in the language of the court. Metre and dialect come from the Achaian inheritance, but the matter is wholly new and strange to Homer. The tiller of the soil has come into his rights; the kings are still over him, but his respect for them is formal, and does not exclude much extremely outspoken and even

¹ See the excellent summary of the new ideas and legends of the Cycle given by Monro in his Appendix (III.) to his edition of the *Odyssey*, xiii.-xxiv.

scornful criticism. The Autochthon asserts his place under the sun, and that not merely politically; he has entered into the field of letters. The poem is a poem of the fusion.

This is no less obviously true of the *Theogony*. That strange farrago of primitive and "modern" faiths is simply an attempt, crude and early, to bring together the Olympian deities of the Achaian and the strange wild monsters of popular imagination. Zeus is brought into the direct line of Uranos and Kronos, with all the barbarous and obscene details of that rude folk-tale. Nature asserts her place once more among the courtly and refined aristocracy of Olympos, partly in the form of various elementary personifications, partly in the revival of ancient figures of primitive religion. The chaos with which the *Theogony* starts has come back again, and the attempt to bring a national religion out of it has hardly more than begun. The completion of the task was no short matter. To all appearance it was practically effected, with the refinement of a later age, by Stesichoros, who is certainly spiritually, as legend made him physically, a "son of Hesiod."

This clash of old and new produces what is in appearance a retrogression. Homer seems to us much more modern in many respects than even the highest development of Hellenism.¹ The Achaians had, by force of circumstances, been driven into a premature development. This was the natural effect,

¹ See *Companion to the Iliad*, pp. 3-8.

as we have already seen, of the loss of the ancient social structure with all its faiths, on the one hand; and on the other of close contact with the last phase of a high and elaborate civilization. The Achaian warrior is brought suddenly into the inheritance of the Minoans, at the moment when he has suddenly freed himself from the bondage of primitive convention; he is eager and receptive, and develops like a precocious child. Homeric society is in a sense an artificial product, and has not within it the promise of permanency. Below it are the great masses of the people biding their time—undeveloped but susceptible to influences from above. When the Achaian aristocracy has worked out its allotted span, the deluge bursts, and the nation is formed anew.

Hence it is that the Homeric Epos can be described, as Professor Murray has described it, as “expurgated.” It is free from many of the lower and coarser elements which are abundant enough in later Greek poetry, and which are in truth a direct inheritance from early stages of thought. But it is not, in my view, the Epos itself which has been expurgated, but the society itself which gave rise to the Epos. The Achaian nobility had cast off much of the ancient dross when they entered Greece; in the courts of Mykene they learnt “good manners” and the ways of courts—they learned to avoid things which are not mentioned in the best society. And in these courts arose the Achaian Epos. Whether there ever existed an unexpurgated Epos seems to me, to say

the least, very doubtful. Greek poetry arose in courts, in the atmosphere of a small and refined aristocracy; the lower elements were introduced at a later stage, and appealed to a mixed audience.

We can now turn back to the Greek Catalogue of the Ships, and estimate more clearly its historical significance. Its old title, *Βοιωτία*, takes us straight to the home of Hesiod and the poetry of the fusion. And to the poetry of the fusion of the races the *Boeotia* clearly belongs. Its whole essence and meaning is to legitimate the old tribal system, abandoned by the Achaian lords but surviving intact among the people, and ready to take up its place again in Hellenic polity so soon as the Achaians had been absorbed and assimilated. The intention of it, as we have seen, is explicitly proclaimed in the words of Nestor, "separate thy men by tribes and clans, that tribe may give help to tribe and clan to clan." The tribe asserted its rights to recognition as a truly Hellenic element by claiming a footing in the army which laid siege to Troy.

The claim was historically a false one. However the common men of the army before Troy may have kept up their tribal feeling among themselves, it is clear from Homer that the army was organized not on a tribal basis, but by the forces of chieftains ranged, as subordinate kings, under a commander-in-chief. When the Cataloguer set himself to turn the Achaian army into a collection of tribes under tribal leaders, he had to invent what could not be

attested from history. He had to take the names of Achaian chiefs, some of them no doubt historical, others possibly invented for the purpose, and assign them to the tribal cantons into which Greece was divided by nature. He thus definitely and deliberately departed from the court tradition, and in so doing he naturally produced a fictitious state of Greece, which never existed at any period of its history.

I remember reading somewhere—I cannot recover the reference—that if the Cataloguer wrote in this way “he must have been a fool.” But this we can say only if we know what his object in composing the Catalogue really was. If he intended to supply authentic historical information about early Greece to the critics of the twentieth century, it must be admitted that he set about it in a very foolish way. But we must not entirely neglect the possibility that his aim may have been something quite different—that he may have been thinking even more of his own century and his own audience than of us. It is not impossible that the consolidation of the various elements of his day into a single nation was in his opinion of more importance than mere historic accuracy, and that a pious fiction would materially aid in the process. It is easy to say that Statius and the rest were fools to write as though they thought that Domitian was really a god; but they were probably not far wrong if they held that the consolidation of the Imperial power was a matter of the first importance to the world, and that any fiction which would

hold water in the views of their generation was permissible, so long as it tended to this great end.

The Cataloguer was in fact writing in the spirit of the age. Others, without the excuse of poetry to cover their fiction, were engaged in the same task. The logographers were working on the same material, and endeavouring to bring the chaos of legends and fancies of their day into some sort of harmony which should show the essential unity of the Greek race. Indeed, it would be hard to find better words to characterize the work of the Cataloguer as we have conceived it than those with which Thucydides stamps the λογογράφοι—who *ευνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγαγώτερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξήλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθεῶδες ἐκνεμικηκότα*.¹ Their object was not scientific fact, but what would please their audience; and clearly what would please an audience in the days of amalgamation was to think that their tribes had fought as such in the Trojan War under their tribal leaders. The Tale of Troy had already "won its way to the mythical," and the statements of the poet of the fusion were "incapable of refutation"—for the face of Greece had been changed in the interval, and the old boundaries of kingdoms had long since passed away. And the creation of a new national sentiment was worth a little fiction, even if it should disconcert the historians of the future.

All the powerful influences were in favour of

¹ i. 21.

such treatment of history. We have seen how Delphi had encouraged a similar fusion in religious matters, where the intrinsic difficulties were no less, and the resulting incongruities quite as patent. There can be little doubt that Delphi would favour the closely allied political conciliation;¹ and patriotism and religion would conspire to make this pious fiction an article of national faith. Other fictions, with even less to recommend them, have been sanctified in later history.

Charity begins at home; and when the Boeotian poet sat down to introduce into the war the rising tribes of Greece, his own Boeotians were naturally the audience whom he most desired to please. His task was not an easy one, for a tradition founded on fact said that they had come to Boeotia only after the war was long over. But confident assertion, supported by sufficient wealth of detail, will do wonders if it has powerful interests, political and religious, to back it. The poet therefore proceeded in no half-hearted way. He made the whole Greek fleet assemble at Aulis, in Boeotian territory, and gave the Boeotians the primacy of place, with the longest list of towns by far—producing the impression that they were the most important people of Greece. His boldness was in fact almost successful; but for Thucydides the story of the Boeotian immigration

¹ Observe how the Catalogue goes out of its way to describe Adrastus as “erst king of Sikyon,” *Κικυῶν, ὅς ᾽ ἄρ' Ἀδρηστός πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν*, and compare the answer given by Delphi to Kleisthenes, *Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Κικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ Λευστῆρα*.—Herod. v. 67.

might have been finally suppressed; and it was at all events pushed so far into the background that it could not actually dispute its place with the poem of the Assembling of the Ships; it could only tax the ingenuity of enquirers to find a means by which the two essentially inconsistent stories might, by hook or by crook, be reconciled.

When the Cataloguer came to deal with the Peloponnese, his case was somewhat easier. He was under no obligation to glorify the invading tribes who, under the later name of Dorians, had set up a close military aristocracy in Sparta, and extended their power, and to a greater or less extent their political system, over Argolis, Corinth, and Messenia, with an outpost in Megara. It was not only easy to ignore them; it was evidently a patriotic duty, and a very agreeable one to the poet, to pass them over as parvenus compared with his own Boeotians. But the Dorians had set an indelible mark on the lands which they had occupied, and when the poet tried to reconstruct the old order of things, he very naturally went astray.

After the break-down of Achaian rule, the remnant of the Achaians—those, that is, who had not thrown in their lot with emigrants to Aeolis and Ionia—drew together and carved themselves out a new domain on the northern shore of Peloponnese, which thenceforth bore the name of Achaia.¹ What could be more natural or proper, more consonant with the

¹ Herod. i. 145, Paus. vii. 6. 1, Strabo viii. 7. 1, Polyb. ii. 41.

new settlement, than that the Achaians should be legitimated in their possession by its ascription as his special domain to Agamemnon, Achaian of the Achaians?

And a Boeotian had a special interest in removing Agamemnon from Argolis. It has been already pointed out that the kingdom ascribed to Diomedes has a striking resemblance to the Kalaurian Amphiktion¹ of a later date. That league consisted¹ of Hermione, Epidauros, Aigina, Athens, Prasiai (represented by Sparta), Nauplia (represented by Argos), and Orchomenos in Boeotia. How Orchomenos came to be in this company it is not easy to see; but there it was. And here again it was clearly natural that a Boeotian should endeavour to set up an ancient independent kingdom comprising Argos, Hermione, Epidauros, and Aigina, when such a realm would give Orchomenos a footing in Argolis at the expense of the Dorian.

The Cataloguer had no difficulty in ignoring alike the Dorian Megara and the Dorian Messenia; the former is never mentioned either in *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, the latter name occurs once only in a passage of the *Odyssey*, which suggests that the Messenians were much on a level with the Arcadians—a robber people, who undertook piratical expeditions as far as Ithaka, while at home they indulged in horse-stealing at the expense of their neighbours.² They make no appear-

¹ Strabo viii. 6. 14.

² *Od.* xxi. 13 ff. See Appendix, note I., for a discussion of the passage.

ance in the war, and it would seem that the Cataloguer was not acquainted with the list of towns given in the ninth book of the *Iliad* (150 ff.); at all events he does not use it.

Triphylia, however, never became Dorian. After the Dorian invasion, as Herodotos tells us,¹ the Minyans expelled from Lakonia by the Spartans settled here among the remnants of their own people, the Minyans of Neleus, and were only subjugated by the Eleans in the fifth century. There was therefore no motive for ignoring the kingdom of Nestor, and indeed it would have been impossible to do so even had it seemed desirable. Pylos and Nestor play far too great a part in the *Iliad*. No wonder that this little region should be the one where the Catalogue does not contradict the *Iliad*, when it is the one where the ancient population maintained its independence in the ancient realm down to the days of Herodotos himself. Here even the Catalogue found it impossible to go wrong.

The section dealing with Thessaly must, so far as I can see, be regarded as a merely fanciful creation, based on a list of names without either geographical or traditional knowledge.² The Thessalian invasion which had expelled the Boeotians had probably wiped out all local memories, and it would seem that Thessaly was in fact less richly represented in the Epic legend than other parts of Greece. In trying

¹ iv. 148.

² It is on any theory odd that such ancient towns of Thessalyas, Pharsalos, Larisa, and the Phthiotian Thebes, should be absolutely ignored.

to form an idea of the kingdom of Peleus we had—it may possibly have not escaped notice—frequent occasion to go to the Embassy in the ninth book of the *Iliad*. Here it was that we found the clearest conception of the relation between the two parts of Peleus' domain, Hellas and Phthia; and here, too, was the mention of the Dolopes as dwelling on the skirt of the country. The Cataloguer, who seems to have known nothing of the list of the cities of Messenia given in the same book, must have been equally ignorant of these details. The conclusion suggests itself at once—that the Embassy represents a train of tradition, genuine indeed and trustworthy, but less familiar to Greece in the days of the fusion than the bulk of the *Iliad*. It may have been preserved in some court which had a special interest in Peleus and Phthia, but whose poems did not attain a vogue till comparatively late. But I have enough conjecture already on hand without entering further into the composition of the *Iliad*; it is enough to point out here how very scanty is any Thessalian tradition except in this one book. That is a fact which hardly seems to have received sufficient attention from those critics who regard the whole Epos as originally based upon Thessalian legends. The fact seems to be the exact contrary. The realm of Peleus, as we have seen, was geographically separated from the other main centres of Achaian power, and thus contributed much less than its due share to the common stock of Achaian poetry. It is

in the courts of Mykene and Pylos that we must look for the centres of poetical creation.

With Meges and the Epeians, and the confusion introduced into the story of the *Odyssey* by the transplantation of Meges to Dulichion, we have already dealt;¹ I can do no more than repeat the suggestion that the Boeotians had a legendary interest in the Echinades, one of which was named Doliche, and that there may have been some claim by Elis to own the little group of islands. But the circumstances here are beyond our ken, and what the motives of the Cataloguer may have been must be left an open question.

Of Crete the Catalogue has little to tell us; we get only a list of historical towns in the centre of the island, and for a knowledge of the population in Achaian days we have to go to the *Odyssey*. But the little group of islands between Crete and Asia Minor, Rhodes, Kos, and the others, bears all the impress of a genuine tradition. Here, as we know, the Minoan power had established itself, with a base of operations whether for commercial intercourse with the mainland or for an entrance, peaceable if possible, hostile if necessary, as a new dominant power to succeed the older kingdoms whether Hittite or Lykian. The Trojan Catalogue had fixed the historical position of Asia Minor at the time of the war; Miletos was known, but was in the power of the enemies of the Achaians. The *Boeotia* takes the

¹ See pp. 158-166.

Achaian power up to the gates of Miletos, but stops there, and archaeology shows that here the Greek Catalogue is right. The Cataloguer had in fact no interest in disturbing the traditions of the colonies. They were themselves the most potent and effective instruments of the great fusion; here Achaians and primitive autochthones first learnt to live and work together to make the new Greece, and the self-consciousness of the three stems, Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian, was growing up and creating a conception more pervading and fruitful than the superficial division of the three—the conception of Hellenism as a unity in the face of the “barbarians.”

That there was a breach of continuity in the development of European Greece after the dissolution of the Achaian empire is clear not only from the constitution of the Spartan state, so different from anything that can be traced before it, but from the appearance, probably nearly at the same time, of geometric pottery, which in no long time wholly supplanted the Mycenaean. New forces, new strains of thought, certainly came in, but it would be a mistake, I think, to conclude from these anything like a radical change of race, or the submersion of the older peoples. There can have been nothing comparable, for instance, to the Saxon deluge which overwhelmed Roman civilization, Christianity, and probably even the Celtic population in England.

The breach with the past was probably less in the colonies than on the mainland. The mere existence

of Homeric poetry, and its traditional connexion with the Asiatic shore, proves that the migrants clung to their intellectual inheritance. Some centuries passed before the vigour of the Epos declined, and gave way to the native products of Aeolis and Ionia, to Sappho, Alkaios, Archilochos. In the meantime the colonists, after the fashion of colonists, clung to the memories of the fatherland. To them the fusion was no matter of effort; they had joined together, rulers and subjects, in a common and voluntary effort; that they had sailed together from the shores of Greece meant that the fusion had already taken place. For those who remained behind on the mainland it was different; with all the old associations before their eyes, with the old castles still standing, the old religions face to face, it was a hard matter to extinguish the old class distinctions. No wonder, therefore, that it was in the new colonies that the oldest tradition was kept alive, while in Boeotia on the mainland arose the new poetry which, consciously or not, sought to harmonize the two factors of the nation, by using the traditions and the poetical forms of the Achaians, but blending them with the rougher and ruder legends of the subject peoples.

But of speculating about what may have happened in the Dark Ages there is no end; and it is more useful perhaps to ask questions than to pretend to answer them, to provoke argument than to try to prove. Let me therefore conclude by summing up the points which seem with more or less clearness

to have suggested themselves in the course of the enquiry, and the further questions up to which they inevitably lead.

That both poems have a historical basis in a Trojan War, which was a necessary prelude to the expansion of Greece eastwards, seems to be beyond a doubt. It seems, moreover, highly probable that the war took much the same form as that described in the *Iliad*—that the Achaian force sat down near Troy to wear out the resources of the fortress rather than to besiege, much less to storm it; and that at the last some device of a siege-tower may have been used to deliver the final blow. But the story has been embroidered upon poetically, and in detail facts have not been recorded as though a poem were a chronicle.

One instance may be given. The *Iliad*, with later legend, represents the Achaian forces before Troy as cut off entirely from their homes, and knowing nothing of what is going on in Greece. On this conception rests the story of the treachery of Aigisthos and Klytemnestra. But in reality they were only three days' journey from home; the *Iliad* itself tells us as much. Communications therefore must have been constant, at least through the summer; the forces must have been constantly relieved, stores replenished, and information conveyed. But to make out that the isolation was total adds to the poignancy of the situation; that is the work of the poet.

Furthermore, the tradition preserves intact so much which, when tested by geography and archaeology,

proves to be correct, that it is necessary to assume its continuity; and for this purpose we are driven to suppose that it began, as the poems profess, on the mainland before the days of the great colonization. To explain this continuity we assume that the court lays, sung in the Achaian palaces of Mykene, Pylos and Sparta, were taken across the sea and developed and perfected in the courts which existed, as we know, in some of the cities of Asia, and probably existed in a good many others.

If we accept the tradition so far, we must, in my opinion, accept something more; the names which are celebrated as those of the heroes who fought before Troy are the real names of the Achaian leaders. Agamemnon was a real king of Mykene and overlord of all the Argives; and I am not afraid of the conclusion, however humorously put, that "Menelaos was a well-known infantry officer with auburn whiskers." That is, I think, substantially true, though I would not pin my faith on the colour of his hair. That he was brother of Agamemnon I do not doubt. And so on with the other great leaders. There comes a point, especially in the scenes of slaughter, where we are obviously dealing with names made up for the purpose. Just where, among the secondary persons, we pass from the traditional to the fictitious is not easy to say; that is a proper subject for enquiry.

But side by side with this tradition we have found in the Catalogue of the Greek Ships another which

cannot be reconciled either with the rest of Homer or with geographical or historical probability. It is admitted on all hands that this has been taken out of another context, and very roughly adapted to its present place. We must ask then whether there are other traces of similar insertions elsewhere, and how far the effects of the insertion of the Catalogue may be traced in other parts of the *Iliad*.

As for the portion of the *Iliad* which seems to retain the true tradition, we have again to ask whether it may not contain signs of growth and contamination. It is improbable *a priori* that poetical treatment lasting through many years should not have left some traces, some indication of historical stratification. Can these be discovered and separated?

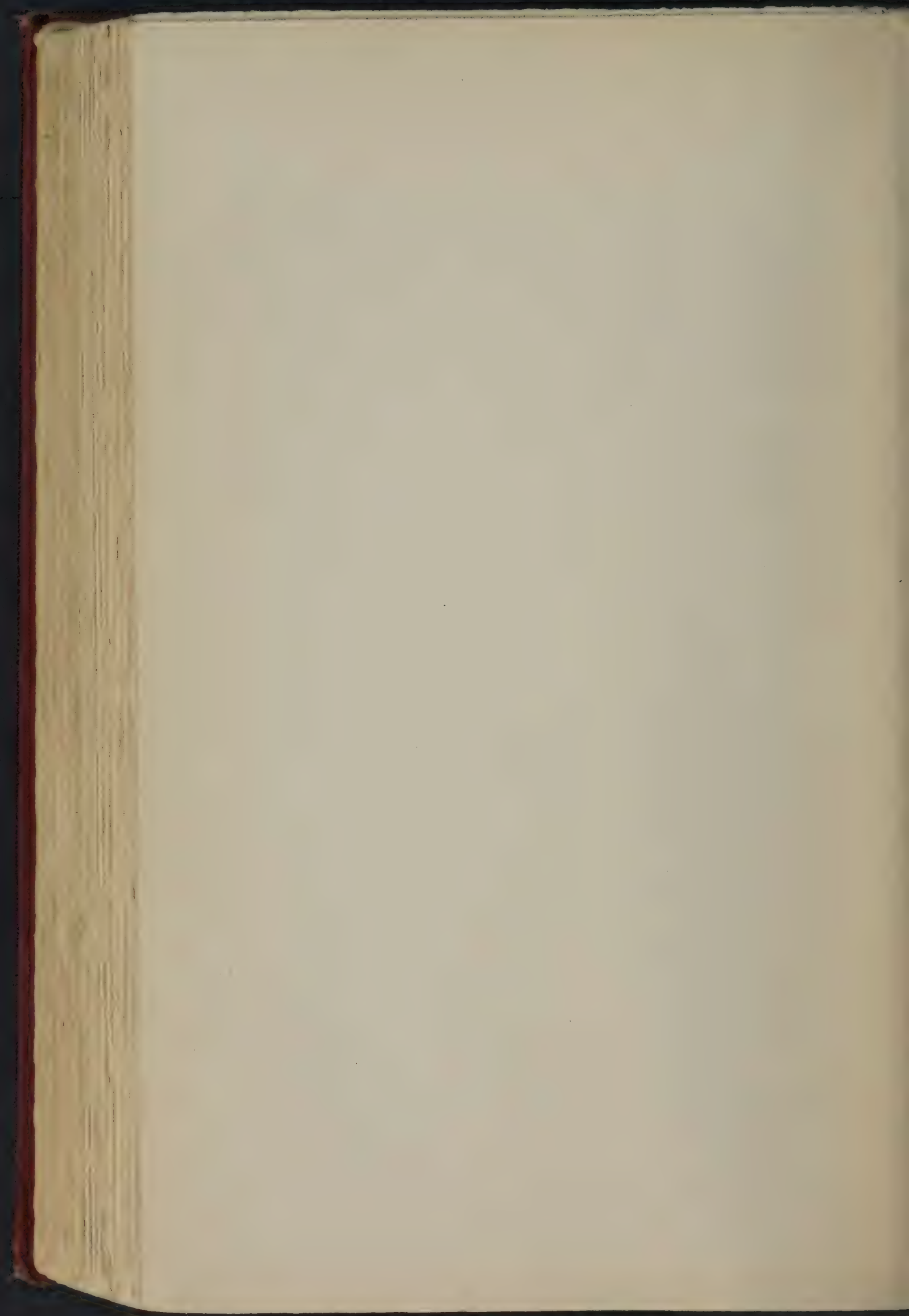
And under what circumstances was the Catalogue inserted into the *Iliad*, and at what period? Here we are, of course, on the familiar ground of the old "Homeric question," but all these problems I have deliberately left out of sight. For my present purpose they are secondary, however important in themselves.

But there is another whole class of problems no less fascinating to think of, although—perhaps because—it is hardly to be supposed that a definite result can be reached. What, if anything, does the Homeric Epos contain of tradition earlier than itself? If the *Iliad* is based on history, it is probable that the references in it to earlier events may also contain history. That this is the case with the Tale of Thebes has been already suggested. But if the Achaians

inherited the Minoan civilization, may not their poetry contain some reminiscences of it in some disguise? What, for instance, is behind the Herakles myth? Does Herakles typify Minoan civilization? And what of the adventures of Odysseus in the land of giants and magicians? Is that perhaps, as Sir Arthur Evans has suggested, based on Minoan legend?¹ or is it a later accretion of vague folklore tacked on to the name which had caught the popular fancy? And how is the Homeric Epos related to all the mass of Athenian legend? The position of Athens in the *Iliad* is in itself a difficult question, and this again I have left almost wholly out of sight.

It is in these and similar directions that enquiry into Homer and the early age of Greece seems likely to be directed for many years to come. I cannot help hoping that on these lines it may be possible to come somewhat nearer a common agreement than has so far been even near attainment.

¹ This theme has been taken up and developed in a most interesting and ingenious manner by Mr. J. A. K. Thomson in his *Studies in the Odyssey* (1914). It will be obvious that I am unable to accept the assumptions on which that work is based, or to believe that the *Odyssey* is Minyan, except perhaps in the *Ἀλκίνοῦ ἀπόλογος*. But this is the kind of enquiry which is, I believe, likely to prove fruitful.



APPENDIX

NOTE A (p. 14)

THERE is at least one glaring instance in which modern mythologists have turned a Homeric hero into a "faded god" in the teeth of explicit evidence. This is Rhesos of Thrace, who is to all appearance a creation of the author of the *Doloneia*. But Erwin Rohde finds in him "a tribal god of the Edones of the same type as Zalmoxis of the Getae, the Sabos, Sabazios of other Thracian tribes."¹ This is in direct contradiction to the express statement of Cicero, writing as an expert in religion, and dealing with the very point; he says plainly that Rhesus "is nowhere worshipped": "Itaque Achillem Astypalaeenses insulani sanctissime colunt. Qui si deus est, et Orpheus et Rhesus dii sunt, Musa matre nati: nisi forte maritimae nuptiae terrenis anteponuntur. Si hi dii non sunt, *quia nusquam coluntur*, quo modo illi sunt? Vide igitur ne uirtutibus hominum isti honores habeantur, non immortalitatibus."²

A full discussion of the theological status of Rhesos, and of the historical evidence for his divinity, originally designed for this place, has overflowed its limits, and will be found

¹ *Psyche*, p. 151, note 2.

² *De Nat. D.* iii. 45.

as a separate paper, "Rhesos of Thrace," in *J.H.S.* xxxv. 1 ff.

NOTE B (p. 83)

To avoid misapprehension, it will be best to quote Mr. Allen's actual words:

"I use these expressions advisedly, since I do not hold that the list taken down at Aulis of princes, their homes, and their forces, has passed *verbatim et litteratim* into the *Iliad*. That Homer respected the names, places, and numbers I maintain, but it is as plain that he added to the information, mainly by what we should call anecdotes. We may discern:

588-590, the feelings of Menelaos.

684-694, the feelings of Achilles and consequent attitude of his troops. This was long posterior to the muster at Aulis (ath. Zen.).

699-709, death of Protesilaos. Also posterior.

721-728, illness and absence of Philoctetes. The same remark applies. By these additions the poet qualified the Catalogue to take the place he gave it, *i.e.* in his Book II."

It is not clear to me how much is meant to be reserved by the words "*verbatim et litteratim*"; but evidently, if it is possible to single out particular lines as inserted, there must have been a pre-existing hexameter poem for them to be inserted into. And it is equally evident that if "Homer" had taken a mere chronicle, and only preserved religiously the names and numbers, he would not have put it into hexameters as they now appear; he would of course

have written that "Podarkes was leader of the men of Phylake; for their original captain Protesilaos was the first to be killed ten years before," and so on. In short, the form, as well as the contents, of the Aulis poem is carefully preserved.

The lines selected by Mr. Allen as "anecdotes" added by Homer are of course right; except that 588-590, the feelings of Menelaos, may equally well have stood in the original. But is the "taking down at Aulis" meant to be understood in its literal sense? It would seem so; for in *C.Q.* iii. 91 the primacy given to the Boeotians is explained thus: "The Boeotians as masters of the soil and the waters gave themselves the first place in the fleet." Mr. Allen's view, then, seems to be—at least I can find no other interpretation for his words—that when the fleet arrived at Aulis the Boeotians refused to allow the men to land or draw water till the Catalogue had been duly "taken down"—in hexameters and in Minoan script?—and approved by them for insertion in the "saga." The historical authority of Dictys fails Mr. Allen here; for Dictys gives the Boeotian contingent only the ninth place (c. xvii.).

NOTE C (p. 89)

THE DORIAN INVASION

In treating the Dorian invasion as an undoubted historical fact, it is necessary that one should explain the exact sense in which the name is used.

That an invasion of southern Greece by ruder tribes

from the north or north-west swept away the Achaian civilization after the Homeric age is, I take it, an undoubted fact; and this invasion I call the Dorian invasion, firstly because the Greeks called it so themselves, and secondly because I do not know of any other name by which it can well be called without periphrasis and ambiguity.

This invasion has left behind it at least two irrefragable proofs of its reality—geometric pottery and the Spartan polity. Both alike testify to the irruption of some entirely new element into Greece, standing lower in the scale of art and thought than the Achaian; and when tradition says that such an irruption did in fact take place and overwhelm the old culture, partly by conquest and partly by absorption and remodelling, the agreement of tradition and archaeology must be taken as decisive.

But why this irruption should have been called Dorian is a more difficult question. We have the evidence of Herodotos for one important point—the name of Dorian was not given to the invaders till after they had reached the Peloponnesos;¹ it was not a primitive name of the invaders as a whole. We have therefore to consider separately the two questions, Whence came the invaders? and Whence came their Dorian name?

It seems to me impossible to deny the force of Beloch's answer to the latter question. Like the names Ionian and Aeolian, the Dorian name came from Asia Minor, where the settlers were sharply divided among three districts,

¹ Ἐπεὶ οὐτεν δὲ αὐτίς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἑλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη, i. 56.

each marked out by its dialect, and basing on this distinction a conscious sense of nationality which was reflected to the older homes on the mainland.

The Asiatic Doris, as we know, included originally the islands of Rhodes, Kos, and other smaller ones near, with Knidos, Halikarnassos, and one or two other towns on the mainland. And if we ask how the name of Doris came to be attached to this district, the answer is ready at hand. It is self-evident that the first settlement of this district came from Crete; the Minoan culture had in fact stretched right up to these points in Mycenaean days. And in Crete there were already Dorians in Homeric times. These Dorians had evidently taken part in the extension of settlements to the mainland, and given their name to the whole district.

If then we ask, Who were the original Dorians? the answer must be that the original Dorians were a Cretan people. We can say no more about them except that they differed in language from the Achaians, the Pelasgoi, the Kydones, and the Eteokretans. There is nothing to be learnt from the epithet **τριχάϊκες**, which on the face of it, and till the contrary is proved, is no more than a variant of **κορυθαίκες**, and gives us just as much information as **μεγαλήτορες** of the Eteokretans, **δῖοι** of the Pelasgians.¹

But they are the original Dorians only in the sense

¹ Κρήτη τις γὰρ ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ
καλὴ καὶ πείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐνήκοντα πόλεις.
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.

Od. xix. 172-177.

that the Dorian name came from them, by a very round-about course, to the historical Dorians; there is no ground whatever for assuming any ethnological or linguistic connexion between the Dorians of Homeric Crete and the later Dorians of Sparta. In all probability there was none. There is no reason for supposing that the Cretan Dorians of Homer either came from Continental Greece or ever went there. They supplied a name, no more.

The Dorian name was in fact assumed by Sparta and her neighbours for political reasons, exactly as the Ionian was assumed by Athens. Hence it is that the Greeks themselves could give no general account of the meaning of the word "Dorian." Their best definition was that it belonged to the peoples who celebrated the festivals of the **Ῥακίνοια** and **Καρνεῖα**. That is, it was given under religious auspices, in other words by Delphi, acting, of course, under Spartan influence. On the mainland, indeed, it did not correspond to any definite national limits, so far as we can see. It included Spartans (with Messenia), Corinthians, and Argives, and, outside the Peloponnesos, Megarians, all speaking dialects of the same family; but it excluded Eleans, Aetolians, and Phokians, and the inhabitants of the Peloponnesian Achaia, who also spoke kindred dialects. It included too the Doris on Mount Oeta, which spoke a wholly different Aeolic tongue.

This Doris was, of course, the reputed home whence the whole Dorian race had started. Whether it was or was not the original home of the Cretan Dorians is a question which it is not in our power to answer. It is possible that, when the Achaians crossed from the mainland to

invade Crete, they may have carried with them as allies a tribe taking their name from this Doris. But it has always been seen that this little mountain glen, only some 10 miles in length by 4 in breadth, is wholly unsuited for independent life, and can at the best hardly have maintained more than a few hundred inhabitants, who were apparently laughed at by their neighbours as **Λιμοδωρεῖς**. It is therefore more probable that, as Beloch supposes, the religious or other authorities under whose auspices the Dorian name was given to the Spartans and their neighbours took advantage of an accidental similarity of name in order to provide the "Dorian nation" with a home in north Greece, whence the tradition rightly said that they had come.

When I speak, therefore, of the Dorian invasion, I use the term to include in the first place that which brought into the Peloponnesos the new and rude tribes who afterwards, in Sparta, Corinth, and Argos, were called Dorians; but it must also cover at least the Aetolians who at or about the same time occupied Elis; and in a more general sense it may be taken to denote the whole great wave which overwhelmed the Achaian dominion, including even the Boeotian movement from Thessaly southwards. The Dorian invasion is in this use no more than a shorthand term for the whole great *Völkerwanderung* from the north and north-west which transformed the face of Greece at the end of the twelfth and probably through the eleventh centuries. But in using the term in this widest sense it must not be forgotten that we are going beyond the ancient authorities, and that the Boeotian invasion on the

east was always carefully distinguished from the Dorian, as for instance by Thucydides (i. 12).

The actual Dorian invasion seems to have exhausted itself in the Peloponnesos, overrunning it only to Megara. Even in the Peloponnesos the effect of it was overwhelming only in Laconia, and in Corinth and Argos there was clearly some sort of a compromise by which the older elements of the population obtained a large partnership in the new government. It is very improbable that the Dorization of Crete and Rhodes was a direct result of the invasion of Laconia. The Dorism of Crete and the Asiatic Doris was a matter rather of dialect than of civil policy; it was evidently helped by immigration, for traces of the three "Dorian" tribes are found in Crete, along with others of presumably Cretan origin, but it is highly improbable that this immigration can have been on such a scale as to produce a complete change in the language of all this south-eastern region. The conclusion seems to be inevitable—that the dialects of the north-western group, to which the Doric belonged, were already spoken in Crete before the Dorian invasion; in other words, that the Achaian dialect belonged to the north-western group, and that it had been introduced into Crete by the invaders who had overthrown the palace of Knossos. Thus we again arrive at the conclusion already drawn by Chadwick about the linguistic kinship of the Achaians.

There still remains behind the further question—was not this dialect rather the speech of the subject races all along, and learnt from them by their successive masters, by Achaians first, and then by the invaders of Laconia?

It may have been so. With regard to the Achaians one can well believe it; they seem to have been one of the receptive races, as we have seen, and by nature adaptable to their surroundings; they formed a portion of the Ionic migrants to Asia, and there spoke Ionic; they doubtless also formed part of the northern group, and there spoke Aeolic. But one feels a reluctance to admit the same of the Spartans, with their intense conservatism. In their case, at least, I am inclined to cling rather to the old idea that they were from the first members of the north-western group, and came into the Peloponnesos only to find themselves among men of kindred speech, rather than to say with Mr. Toynbee¹ that "they may have spoken Illyrian for all we know." But after all it ends in a recognition of the fact that language is but a treacherous foundation for ethnology, and that races change their dialect almost as easily as they change their religion.

NOTE D (p. 94)

Mr. Allen has discussed, or rather dismissed, the testimony of Thucydides as to the Boeotian immigration in *J.H.S.* xxx. 295. As the passage is brief, and, perhaps consequently, obscure to me, I quote it in full:

"Thuc. i. 12 says, Βοιωτοί . . . ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν . . . τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν . . . οἰκήσαν,

¹ *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 249. I desire to make full acknowledgment to Mr. Toynbee for the valuable suggestions and arguments—in many cases convincing—which I owe not only to this article, but in still larger measure to private correspondence.

whence, as the Boeotians are in Boeotia in Homer, it has been inferred that this part of the Catalogue is post-Dorian. Thucydides was probably misled by the nomenclature. Some races certainly carried their names south with them, the Hellenes, Enienes, Phlegyes, Achaei, whom we can see moving; others took the name of the country which they occupied, and this seems generally true of the Dorians, who became in Argos **Ἀργεῖοι**, in Lacedaemon **Λακεδαιμόνιοι**, in Elis **Ἠλεῖοι**, and similarly probably in Boeotia **Βοιωτοί**. There is no evidence that the name **Βοιωτοί** was ever borne by any one north of Oeta. The Dorians in general took their name, according to their own tradition, from **Δωρίς**, or according to Herodotus from Dryopis; they were not called Dorians till they arrived in Peloponnesos; when, therefore, we find a place called **Δώριον** in Peloponnesos, it is a simple case of the same place-name recurring in Greece, like Ephyra, Oechalia, Orchomenus, Thebae, and has nothing to do with race."

Taken literally, this passage would lead to the curious conclusion that Mr. Allen looks upon the Boeotians as Dorian. That of course cannot really be his intention; though he does unquestionably include the Eleans among the Dorians, in defiance of Herodotos (viii. 73). His sentence beginning with "some races" should perhaps be emended to conclude with the words, "and similarly probably <an unnamed Aeolic race from Thessaly became> in Boeotia **Βοιωτοί**." The Dorians are then brought in only as an analogy; though it is not clear why they should be thus singled out. It is of course true that Dorians living at Argos are called **Ἀργεῖοι**; but that is no Dorian

peculiarity. Ionians living at Miletos are **Μιλήσιοι**, Aeolians of Mitylene are **Μιτυληναῖοι**, and Boeotians at Thebes **Θηβαῖοι**, and so on through the Gazetteer.

What Mr. Allen has in his mind seems to be this. Some tribe, whose name has been lost, came from Thessaly into Boeotia, where the Boeotians were already in possession, and thereupon changed their tribal name for that of their predecessors. Thucydides, being dull of wit, and knowing little of Greece, was "misled by the nomenclature," in other words he thought that this immigrant tribe was originally called Boeotian, and it was left to the discernment of Mr. Allen to discover the truth.

The first thing that strikes one in this theory is that the complete abandonment of a tribal name, and the adoption of another because it is in possession, is very different from the necessary addition of a local name to the tribal. The analogies which Mr. Allen proposes are therefore wholly fallacious. It would have been a case in point if the "Dorians"—Herodotos says Aitolians—who dwelt in Elis had called themselves Epeians; but they did not. How the invaders came to call themselves Dorians is a difficult question, but in any case it was not because they found Dorians already settled in the Peloponnese.

This point, however, need not be dwelt upon; for Thucydides, however slow and credulous, had his flashes of insight, and in this case, with the vision of genius, he has guarded himself in advance against Mr. Allen's imputation. In words which Mr. Allen forgets to quote—indeed his citation leaves out the most significant

portion of a not very long passage¹—Thucydides tells us plainly that when the Boeotians came there, the land “now called Boeotia” had a quite different name; it was called “the Kadmean Land,” *ἡ Καδμηΐς*. Whatever Thucydides’ faults may be, he makes it quite certain that in this case he was not misled by the nomenclature. He means beyond a question that the Boeotians were *Βοιωτοί* while they were still in Thessaly.

Nor is this the mere unsupported statement of Thucydides. It was the unanimous belief of all Greece that, up to its fall, on the very eve of the Trojan War, Thebes, with all the territory of the later Boeotia east of the Copaic Lake, was inhabited by a people called Kadmeans, while the western portion belonged to the Minyans of Orchomenos. That Ephoros accepted the tradition, and in fact held that the name Boeotian was taken by the Kadmeans while they were in Thessaly, we have already seen. But there are more respectable witnesses than Ephoros to be called. Homer himself testifies to the Kadmeans of Thebes in the lifetime of Diomedes. Aeschylus knows of no Boeotians at “the city of the Kadmeans”; Herodotos tells us that the name of Boeotia is modern;² Pausanias has the same story, adding that when they were in Thessaly the Boeotians were included in the wider Aeolic name;³ the evidence of the oracle quoted by Stephanus has already been given. The

¹ It is given in full on p. 88.

² *Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην χώραν*, ii. 49.

³ *Βοιωτῶν δέ, Θεσσαλίαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ὥικησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τήνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο*, x. 8. 4.

genealogists say the same thing in their own way—Aiolos was king of the land then called Aiolis, now Thessaly. His daughter Arne became by Poseidon mother of Boiotos.¹ Or by another tale, Boiotos was son of Itonos by the nymph Melanippe;² and Itonos, as we shall see, equally takes us to Thessaly.

To clinch the matter, the religious tradition of the Boeotians themselves was, as we should expect, conclusively on the same side. The common tribal festival, the **Παμβοιώτια**, was celebrated at the temple of Athene Itonia near Koroneia; and the title and worship were derived from Itonos in Thessaly. Thus the bond of union of the people was in itself a reminder of their Thessalian home. Not only did Athene Itonia bring her worship from her temple at Itonos, but with it she had carried the very name of the river on which that temple stood, so that the local associations might be the more vividly remembered.³

Greek tradition, literary and religious alike, is therefore unanimous; and it is of course confirmed by the close relationship of the Thessalian and Boeotian dialects. When Mr. Allen says that "there is no evidence that the name **Βοιωτοί** was ever borne by anyone north of Oeta," he cannot mean his words to be taken literally. Nor can one

¹ Diodoros iv. 67.

² Pausanias ix. 1. 1.

³ κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηναίης ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο, ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον, κ.τ.λ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιώτια συντελοῦν, Strabo ix 2. 29. For the other references it is enough to mention the article "Itonia" in Roscher's *Lexikon*. Itonos is placed by Strabo (ix. 5. 8) only 60 stades from Halos, and our maps accordingly show it in Phthiotis, but in ix. 5. 14 he says explicitly that it is in Thessaliotis, καὶ Κίερος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν συντελεῖται. Thus Arne and Itonos are brought into connexion.

suppose him to mean that any testimony which seems to impugn the credit of the Catalogue is *ipso facto* "no evidence." More probably he is following E. Meyer, and holds that, though the evidence is there, it is susceptible of another explanation. If that is so, it would have been better to choose some less misleading form of expression.

Meyer's view is that the whole of eastern Greece, from Thessaly to Boeotia, was once inhabited by a homogeneous population speaking a dialect of the Aeolic group—so at least I understand his theory.¹ Tribes belonging to the north-western group wedged themselves into the Spercheios valley, and thus sundered the northern group from the southern. The idea that the southern group had migrated from the north was only a "combination" meant to explain this division of the kindred peoples.

This theory, if it were tenable, would of course suit my purpose very well: it would in no way affect my main argument, based on the incompatibility of the Catalogue with the rest of Homer; it would allow Peneleos and his Boeotians a place, however insignificant, in the Trojan War; and that would save me some trouble.

But it is, I fear, untenable. Combinations are meant not to create but to remove difficulties; and the migration of the Dorians raises all the difficulties of the Catalogue. The particular interest of the question lies in the fact that it gives us both the difficulties and the combinations meant to remove it. When Thucydides says "there must have been an ἀποδασμός," that is combination; and Ephoros, when he invents the migration northwards to Arne to

¹ See *Geschichte d. Alt.* ii. pp. 190, 264.

account for a subsequent return migration back to Boeotia, offers another combination. Both are so plainly futile that they serve only to bring the pertinacious survival of the troublesome tradition into clearer relief.

The difficulty is of course that the tradition so positively places the immigration after the Trojan War; and that it assumes such an aspect of intrinsic probability in thus connecting the Thessalian thrust which drove out the Boeotians in the east with the Dorian which came down by the west. But for this one would not hesitate to suppose that the Boeotians were the primitive "Pelasgian" population of Boeotia before either Kadmeians or Achaians entered the land. But for reasons already given I cannot accept this alternative.

NOTE E (p. 129)

Mr. Allen, who ignores Ormenion, thinks that Hypereia is "a common noun, Upwater,"¹ which may be placed anywhere we like. Names which carry mythological and religious significance are not to be played with in this easy manner. That Hypereia was such a name is, as we have already seen, amply proved by the evidence of Homer, Pindar, and Sophokles—a combination quite sufficient to explain Strabo's "obstinacy." It was a famous fountain, a **νᾶμα θεοφιλέστατον**, and was at Pherai and nowhere else. When a fountain Hypereia is named without qualification, it must mean the fountain at Pherai; just as when Hippocrene is named without qualification it must mean

¹ *J.H.S.* xxx. 311.

the fountain on Helicon and none other; it is vain to pretend that Hippocrene is "a common noun, Horse-trough," which may be discovered at any spot where it may be desirable, in the interest of a theory, to find it.

There is, in fact, no trace of any other fountain called Hypereia in Greek lands, though there does happen to be another Hippocrene. The people of Pharsalos, anxious to win a place in the *Iliad*, tried to pass off a fountain of their own as the Homeric Hypereia; but Strabo rejects the claim, which evidently had no foundation other than civic ambition. Mr. Allen thinks he has found a fountain of the name at Troizen, and refers to Pausanias (ii. 30. 8); but if he will verify his reference, he will find that the Hypereia there named is not a fountain but a mythical town which played a part in the foundation legend of Troizen. He is probably thinking of the next chapter (ii. 31. 11), where a fountain at Troizen is mentioned: only it is named not Hypereia but Hippocrene.¹ With this remarkable confirmation of the Horse-Trough theory I am glad to present him.

Mr. Allen goes on to say, I do not know why, that the "identification of the sites" of Methone, Thaumakie, Olizon, and Meliboia "is uncertain."² Olizon and Methone are, I believe, quite well known, and Meliboia has recently been identified by Mr. Wace.³ Ormenion is very closely fixed

¹ ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Τροιζηνίοις Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ διαφόρως τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔχει.

² *J.H.S.* xxx. 311.

³ I must apologize for having overlooked this fact in Map II. Meliboia, he tells me, should be placed on the coast just to the east, not about 3 miles inland, where Leake placed it. This does not of course affect my argument. See "The Topography of Pelion and Magnesia," *J.H.S.* xxvi. 143 ff. (Olizon, p. 148; Methone, p. 153; Orminion, p. 157).

by Strabo at 27 stades — 3 miles — from Demetrias, with which town it was “synoikized” on its foundation.¹ Mr. Wace, as I understand, is prepared to accept a site for it. To Thaumakie we will return presently.

Mr. Allen thinks that the attribution of the classical Halos to Achilles is impossible, because it forms an enclave. This applies with at least equal force to Meliboia. Halos is more accessible from Alope than Meliboia from Methone. The former distance in a straight line is less—about 18 miles against 27—and access by sea is available for Achilles but not for Philoktetes; only a part of Protesilaos’ barony intervenes between Alope and Halos, but the whole of Eumelos’ domain must be passed in going from Methone to Meliboia. If, then, Halos is an inconceivable enclave, *a fortiori* is the same true of Meliboia. If another Halos must be invented for the sake of the Catalogue, another Meliboia must equally be assumed.²

As for Thaumakie, the name is obviously to be equated *prima facie* with Thaumakoi. The conditions are identical with those of Meliboia; the distance is indeed somewhat greater, about 41 miles in a straight line against 27; but its position on the other side of the barony of Protesilaos is precisely analogous to that of Meliboia on the other side of Eumelos. If the obvious identification is not admitted, it will be necessary to assume yet another homonymy—another Thaumakie on the

¹ Strabo ix. 5. 15; 5. 18.

² If we are to believe Livy xxxvi. 15, there must have been another Meliboea near Tricca. This of course would not help the Catalogue.

peninsula of Magnesia.¹ Perhaps Mr. Allen will say that Thaumakoi is "a common name, Belvoir," which can be given to any town with a magnificent view.

Perhaps when Mr. Allen says that the sites are uncertain he means that Strabo does not discuss them. The name of Thaumakia occurs only in a corrupt passage at the beginning of ix. 5. 16.² It appears from this that the whole question of the barony of Philoktetes must have been under discussion in connexion with the Thracian Methone, in the lost part of Strabo's seventh book on Thrace. This Methone, as we know from Stephanos, was by some believed to have been the capital of Philoktetes!³

Let us sum up the position as it stands with regard to the three doubtful baronies, those of Achilles, Philoktetes, and Eurypylos. The lists contain the following names:

Trachis	Thaumakie	Asterion
Alope	Methone	Titanos
Halos	Olizon	Hypereia
	Meliboia	Ormenion.

¹ If Stephanos is to be believed, there was already a second on the Malian Gulf, Θαυμακία, πόλις Μαγνησίας. "Ὅμηρος . . . δευτέρα πόλις κατὰ τὸν Μηλιά κόλπον. οἱ ἔνοικοι Θαυμακοί. This of course does not help the Catalogue in any way.

² ἑξῆς δ' αἱ ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτι πόλεις καταλέγονται. ἡ μὲν Μεσῶνι ἐτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς Θραικίας Μεσῶνις, ἣν κατέσκαψε Φίλιππος· ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ καὶ πρότερον τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ . . . τροπᾶς. τὰλλα δὲ ἠρίσθηται ἢ τε Θαμακία καὶ [ὁ Ὀλιζ]ῶν καὶ ἡ Μελίβοια [ᾧ] τῆς ἑξῆς παραλίας ἐστίν. I give in square brackets Kramer's restorations. The first is obviously wrong. Ὀλιζῶν is of course feminine, like other names of towns in -ῶν in Homer, wherever the gender can be tested; anyhow we have before us Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχεῖαν. Nor do I think that the neuter plural ᾗ is grammatically possible, even for Strabo, after a series of feminines. Korais rightly read ἡ. The last clause indicates the isolated position of Meliboia on the sea-front of Thessaly, as we should expect.

³ Μεσῶνι· πόλις Θραικῆς. "Ὅμηρος διὰ τοῦ ἤτα· οἱ δ' ἄρα Μησῶνι καὶ Θαυμακίῃ ἐνέμοντο.

Of the eleven, two, so far as we know, are identified only by a conjecture of the ancient geographers—Asterion and Titanos. Places bearing the names of all the rest are known on perfectly good historical testimony to have existed in southern and south-eastern Thessaly, and there is no serious doubt at least as to the approximate site of any one of them.

Mr. Allen, setting out to show that the baronies of the Catalogue agree with the probabilities of geography, proceeds as follows. He accepts the conjectural identification of Asterion with Peiresiai, and of the mountain near Peiresiai with Titanos. Of the remaining nine names he accepts in four cases identity with the historical sites—Trachis, Alope, and (I suppose) Methone and Olizon. But, in order to make the Catalogue square with facts, he assumes, or is at least bound to assume, that not one of the other five, neither Halos nor Thaumakie nor Meliboia nor Hypereia nor Ormenion, is identical with the places so known in history; that there must have been a second Halos (or a third, if we count Halai in Lokris, quite near), a second (or third) Thaumakie, a second (or third) Meliboia, a second Hypereia, and a second Ormenion. For not one of these assumptions is there historical evidence; they are purely arbitrary, made for the sake of the Catalogue.

With such a series of unauthorized assumptions anything can be proved. The process seems only to prove its own incompetency.

NOTE F (p. 157)

In his treatment of Ithaka and Dulichion Mr. Allen offers the best proof that the Catalogue is irreconcilable with Homer, and incidentally gives an instructive instance of the results of a false method.

He begins his series of papers on the Catalogue with the time-honoured maxim that "Homer must be interpreted by Homer."¹ But he no sooner states it than he abandons it, and sets about trying to interpret Homer by the Catalogue, which on his own showing is not Homer, but has been taken from its proper place and time and inserted into the *Iliad*. The result is that when he reaches Ithaka he finds himself in such a pass that he is unable to interpret Homer at all, and can only say helplessly that Homer "seems to be wrong" in one, and is in "error" in another vital point of his geography. "It was an error, that Ithaca was a lonely rock out at sea."² "Homer seems wrong when he puts Ithaca between Dulichium and Thesprotia."³ If Homer is wrong in his most deliberate geographical descriptions, how can we follow Mr. Allen when he tell us that "his geographical terms appear substantial"? He can, however, plead the example of Wilamowitz, who, while regarding Homer's geography as

¹ *C.R.* xx. p. 194.

² *J.H.S.* xxx. 304. "Lonely" is of course in direct contradiction of Homer, who says that many isles lay about it; and it is contradicted too by the whole of the *Odyssey*, which shows Ithaka in constant communication with the mainland—as Mr. Allen himself has, in a wiser moment, well pointed out (*C.R.* xx. 270).

³ *J.H.S.* xxx. 305.

poetical fancy, still appears to regard the "Bearbeiter" of the *Odyssey* as well acquainted with some of the geography of Ithaka.¹ The position of both scholars seems to me entirely illogical.

This appears particularly when Mr. Allen proceeds to identify the Homeric Dulichion with the island of Leukas. He gives no positive grounds for the idea, and it is not easy to see what can have led to it. It cannot have been the desire to make Homer as wrong as possible; for the Cataloguer is involved. It is clear, as we have seen, that both Homer and the Cataloguer regard Dulichion as the largest island of the group; for Homer brings hence the largest number of suitors, the Cataloguer the largest number of ships. But Leukas is much smaller than either Cephalaria or Zante; it has only 30,000 inhabitants against the 70,000 of Cephalaria and the 40,000 of Zante. It is not the desire to follow ancient tradition, for this is non-existent, and ancient hypothesis generally identified Dulichion with Cephalaria. It cannot be because the name Samos is found on Cephalaria, and therefore Cephalaria must be the Homeric Same; for the name Dulichion is equally found on Cephalaria, and in fact persists, in the form Doliche, as the name of a still existing village.²

What I fancy must be at the back of Mr. Allen's mind, though he does not express it, is an uneasy feeling about the assignment of the largest part of Odysseus' domain to Meges, and a sense that this dismemberment will be a little less monstrous if the island to be lopped off is at the

¹ *Hom. Unt.* 25.

² οἱ Παλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο Δουλιχεῖς τὰ πρότερα, Paus.¹ vi. 15. 7; Δουλίχιον πόλις Κεφαλληνίας, Hesych. s.v.

extremity of the row, at Leukas, instead of being the very heart of it, at Cephalonia. But, unfortunately, in the course of his argument, he has abandoned the authority of the Catalogue as well as of Homer. If neither of them knew what he was talking about, why discuss Dulichion at all? What evidence is left to prove anything whatever?

In the *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift* (27th Dec. 1913, col. 1660) F. Stürmer has again taken up the Dulichion-Leukas theory; but he at least attempts to prove that Homer was not in error. He aims at showing that a ship taking a passenger from Thesprotia to Leukas might stop on the way at Ithaka. He says: "It was not possible to pass from Thesprotia to Leukas along the shore of the mainland, because the lagoon at the north-east end of the island is filled with mud and pebble, if not artificially kept open, which was certainly not done in Homeric days. It was necessary, therefore, to pass by the west side of the island, and as the rocky west coast offered no anchorage, to go round the island by west and south. Thus one would come between Leukas and Ithaka, and if one could do some good business on Ithaka in passing, a small diversion would pay." He reckons that the extra distance involved in going to the north end of Ithaka would be about 8 kilometres (5 miles); to Vathy, 20 kilometres ($12\frac{1}{2}$ miles).

Unfortunately he omits to explain why a traveller wishing to be taken from Thesprotia to Leukas should not be set down at the natural landing-place at the northern end of the island. Till the canal was deepened in 1903 this was the regular port; the mole and lighthouse are on the spit, by the cut. In ancient days the landing was a

little farther west, it would seem, in Flava Bay; for here are the remains of an ancient mole. The shore, though not favourable to modern ships, was exactly what suited the Homeric sailor—a shelving sand or pebble beach, on which his light boat could easily be drawn up. The distance from the port of Thesprotia, at the mouth of the river Cocytus, is rather less than 25 miles. Mr. Stürmer seems to think it quite natural that the sailors who have to take Odysseus to Leukas should add another 50 miles or so to this, with all the risks of the exposed run round Cape Leucatas, in order to save their passenger a walk which, according to his destination somewhere on the east coast, may have varied from 1 mile to about 7. It is hardly necessary to go further and point out that the “good business” for which they add a further 5 or 12 miles to the extra 50 is to take the evening meal and rest for the night (*Od.* xiii. 344 ff.); an object for which Leukas itself offers a series of charming bays on the south coast, all directly on the straight course.

Stürmer has, however, another argument. The phrase in *Od.* ix. 22, ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι, must mean, he thinks, that the “other islands” lay on opposite sides of Ithaka. He accepts the statement that the ancients regarded the whole line as running east and west rather than nearly north and south; ἀμφί, he concludes, must mean that the other islands lay north and south of Ithaka. Would he be prepared to argue that when Achilles uses the phrase (*Il.* i. 409) ἀμφ’ ἅλα ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοῦς, he means that the Achaians are to be hemmed in on both shores of the Hellespont, north and south? Of course ἀμφί, like our

"about," is used in a very vague way to indicate neighbourhood; and though the sense "on either hand" is rarely absent, it is commonly weak. In this case Odysseus, looking from Ithaka (Leukas) over his domain, says with perfect truth that the other islands of the archipelago lie "on either hand." He names only the largest, but there are others in plenty; he thinks of Meganisi and Kalamo lying on his left hand due east, Dulichion (Cefalonia) extending far to the south-west on his right. The archipelago covers more than a third of the horizon; that is quite enough to explain the word ἀμφί. If Homer had used the word περί it would have been a different matter; but it is clear that the distinction between the two must be observed.

There remains of course the fact that Thiaki is central, and thus cannot possibly be described as πανυπερτάτη in any direction. Stürmer has only to say about this: "Stellen wir uns auf diesen Standpunkt" (viz. the supposed east-west line of the islands) "so können wir sagen, dass Ithaka am weitesten nach Westen liege." Of course "we can say" anything we like, if we do not mind being flatly contradicted by facts.

The most recent review of the question is the paper on Leukas-Ithaka by Prof. A. Shewan in *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 227 ff. As this puts in the forefront certain questions which I had passed over in the text, it may be well that I should touch briefly on them here.

The most important is the problem of the return of Telemachos from Pylos, as described in *Od.* xv. 33-42, 296-300. This I passed over for the simple reason that I

am wholly unable to understand either passage. The difficulties are inherent in the text, and do not depend on any theory about Ithaka; I do not think, therefore, that they can be effectively used on either side of the controversy.

In 33 Telemachos is told **ἐκὰς νήων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα**. He is on any theory going to an island situated in a dense archipelago; I do not understand how it is possible under such circumstances to "keep his ship far from islands." What is needed is advice to keep clear of a particular island; and I do not see how this can possibly be got from the words. That is the first difficulty.

In 299 we hear that Telemachos, presumably following the warning of the goddess, after passing Elis, **νήοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆισιν**, which is taken to mean, "set his course on the swift (or sharp) islands." The other occasions on which the verb is used would lead us to suppose that the proper translation would be "sent (something or some one) forth to the sharp islands." But even if the ordinary translation, little as it agrees with the composition of the verb, be accepted, we still have the difficulty that Telemachos appears not to be following but defying the instructions of Athena. And of course there is the obvious difficulty of the adjective **θοῆισιν**, which no one professes really to understand. Expositors have to assume that in some way the **νήοι** of 33 are plainly distinguished from those of 299; but how this can be read into the text I do not see. There is the further complication that the phrase **νήοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆισιν** has a curious resemblance to the perfectly simple **νηυσὶν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆισιν** of *Il.* xvii. 708. What the relation between the passages is I do not pretend

to say; but it must raise some suspicion not to the advantage of the unintelligible line in the *Odyssey*.

Assuming, however, that these preliminary difficulties are, if not explained, at least decently ignored, it must be pointed out that the identification of the "Sharp Islands" with the Echinades tells decidedly in favour of the Leukas theory. The "islands" of 33 must still be taken to mean "the big islands," Zante and Cephalonia, which are to be avoided; the natural course for a ship keeping clear of them and running for Leukas would be to make for the Echinades, and escape observation from Arkudi by passing under the screen of the Dragonera group. For a ship running for Thiaki such an out-of-the-way course from Elis would be wholly needless, as the suitors have carefully posted themselves, we are told, at Daskalio, where observation of any ship coming from the south is out of the question.

Professor Shewan, though having to admit that Daskalio does not in a single feature suit the description of Asteris, consoles himself with the thought that at least it "commands the channel" (p. 236). For the purpose of the suitors command implies two things: first, a lurking place close to the probable course of Telemachos' ship; secondly, a point of vantage from which his approach can be seen beforehand. Daskalio supplies neither. It is in a direction which takes them directly away from Polis, where they are actually on the probable course, to a distance of 2 miles at right angles; so far as pouncing goes they are exactly 2 miles worse off than if they had stayed at home. And for observation they are still more hopelessly placed. From so low a reef as Daskalio a low Homeric ship would be

"hull down," at a distance of some 4 or 5 miles; the best that the suitors could hope, after making out the approach of the ship—in itself a difficult task, as it would be seen against the cliffs of Thiaki,—would be to catch it just before it got safe into Polis harbour; so that they might much better have stayed at home. It may be perfectly true—I do not doubt it—that the hills of Peloponnesos are visible from Daskalio: but it was not those high hills which the suitors hoped to catch sailing up the channel.

Through a mischance which I greatly regret I can offer little indeed in the way of the autopsy to which Professor Shewan challenges me. I have anchored in Polis Bay and landed in Thiaki. I can testify to the great difficulty with which the reef of Daskalio can be made out from Polis Bay; it needs a good glass to show it, so small and low as it is. But Leukas and Arkudi I have seen only from the sea, at a distance of some 2 miles. At that distance the "twin harbours" of Arkudi can be distinguished by the naked eye; they are not imposing, but I think they will suffice.

It may be as well to add that I do not for a moment believe in the Montague Rocks as the **νήκοι βοαί**, and that I quite agree with what Professor Shewan says (p. 238) as to the uselessness of attempt to base arguments on the recovery of Homeric landmarks in Leukas. The question depends on the larger considerations to which I have endeavoured to confine myself in the text.

NOTE G (p. 213)

CORINTH IN THE CHALCOLITHIC AGE

There is already evidence to show that at the very dawn of the Bronze Age, when some countries were still in the neolithic stage of culture, while others were passing through the chalcolithic, and the more advanced had already entered the bronze period, there existed conditions which would explain the occupation of the site of Corinth as an emporium. That is to say, there is evidence of a wide and active commerce between the Aegean basin on the one hand and Sicily and southern Italy on the other.

Of the existence of an active commerce at this early age the extraordinary wealth and variety of the treasure found by Schliemann in the "Second City" at Hissarlik is in itself abundant proof. Hissarlik was then in trade relations with Central Asia for jade, and the Baltic for amber, and probably, through Thrace, with the Danube valley. And it seems clear that Sicily had its share in this intercourse, in common with southern Italy. For the evidence of this I must refer to Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*. The connexion begins in the neolithic period (pp. 135 ff.), when Cretan types are already found in Sicily; and relations to Hissarlik are noted in southern Italy (p. 158). In the chalcolithic¹ period the link is even more marked. The evidence is summed up by Peet in the concluding section of his chap. xii. (pp. 284-

¹ I must raise my protest against the barbarous "eneolithic." This would be bad enough even if this stage of culture were confined to Italy.

288), with the conclusion that "all this evidence when taken together, puts beyond doubt the existence of active trade in the early metal age along the route which was already in use in the neolithic period," and this route certainly extended in one direction to Cyprus—probably through Crete—and in another to Hissarlik.

It is reported that the early ware found at Corinth supports the idea of a trade in the chalcolithic period between Corinth and the north-east at least as far as Thessaly; but as the evidence is still unpublished, I can only point out that so far such discoveries would confirm what I have said.

NOTE H (p. 241)

The passage on which Mr. Allen appears mainly to found his argument is the description of the return of Agamemnon in *Od.* iv. 514 ff. This deserves further consideration:

- 514 ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε Μαλειάων ὄρος αἰπὺ
 ἵζεσθαι, τότε δὴ μιν ἀναρπάζασα εὐέλλα
 πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρει βαρέα στενάχοντα,
 517 ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατίνην, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε Θυέστης
 518 τὸ πρὶν, ἀτὰρ τότε ἔναιε Θυεστιάδης Αἰγισθεὺς·
 ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖθεν ἐφαίνετο νόστος ἀπήμεων,
 520 ἄψ δὲ θεοὶ οὖρον στρέψαν καὶ οἴκαδ' ἵκοντο,
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν χαίρων ἐπεβήσατο πατρίδος αἴης
 καὶ κύνει ἀπτόμενος ἦν πατρίδα· πολλὰ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 δάκρυα θερμὰ χέοντ', ἐπεὶ ἀσπασίως ἶδε γαῖαν.
 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδε σκοπὸς ὃν ῥα καθεῖσεν

525 Αἴγιος δολόμητις ἄγων, ὑπὸ δ' ἔσχετο μισθὸν
 χρυσοῦ δοιὰ τάλαντα· φύλασσε δ' ὃ γ' εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
 μή ἐ λάθοι παριών, μνήσαιο δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.
 βῆ δ' ἵμεν ἀγγελέων πρὸς δώματα ποιμένι λαῶν.

Now this narrative, as it stands, is, to put it plainly, silly nonsense; and what any poet who wrote it in this form may have thought or meant about geography is a matter of pure indifference. Let us look at what it says. Agamemnon on his way home has got near "the mountain of Maleiai" when a storm catches him and drives him right across the sea, to the "extremity of the cultivated land," whatever that may mean. Here Thyestes had a domain, and here his son Aigisthos is now dwelling. Our interest is aroused—Agamemnon has been driven into the power of his destined murderer; the tragedy is upon us! But nothing of the sort; Aigisthos does nothing; the wind simply changes, and Agamemnon sails back over the sea, far away from the home of Aigisthos—only to find himself still at the home of Aigisthos! The home of Aigisthos, from which he is so grateful to have escaped, lies in fact all the time in his own country; it is actually between the landing-place, where he kneels to kiss his native soil, and his own palace; and here Aigisthos has been awaiting him for a year, with a messenger posted to give warning of his landing, lest he should slip past unobserved. Can anything be more inept?

Still it passes muster with Mr. Allen, as "elliptic though easy. It is elliptical because that is the ancient manner."¹ When we inquire where the ellipsis occurs,

¹ *C.Q.* iii. 90.

we find it in Mr. Allen's parenthesis, "Aegisthus was of course away from home, at Corinth or Mycenae, playing his own game." In other words, when Homer tells us that Aigisthos was dwelling at that time, **τότ' ἔναιε**, in his distant farm, he means "of course" that he was *not* dwelling there at that time. It is interesting to learn that Mr. Allen thinks that this is "easy" and "in the ancient manner"; but surely to call such an unusual mode of expression "elliptical" is too high a compliment. There is no doubt an ellipsis—the omission of the not unimportant negative particle; but I doubt whether even in the technical sense the omission of a word which simply reverses an author's meaning might not deserve a simpler and less ambiguous name. At any rate the armoury of criticism will be singularly enlarged by this extension of the word "elliptical," so that we can always assume any author who writes in the ancient manner to mean the opposite of what he says.

It will be noticed that the absence of Aigisthos from his country seat is not merely temporary; it has lasted at least a year. For all that time he has had a man on the watch to report the appearance of Agamemnon, lest he should slip past. That implies that he is close at hand, ready to take immediate action. The home, **δῶματα**—for the same word is used in 528 as in 517—of Aigisthos is close to the landing-place. What use would there be in a messenger if Aigisthos were away in the distant farm which Mr. Allen, with laudable impartiality, places first¹ in Messenia, and afterwards² at Monemvasia? Imparti-

¹ C.Q. iii. 90.

² J.H.S. 297.

ality is indeed excusable, as either position is equally impossible.

We may, however, consider for a moment Monemvasia, Mr. Allen's later choice. It lies 20 miles north of the promontory of Maleia; so this disastrous tempest, which caused Agamemnon so many tears, only drove him, not "across the sea," but along the shore—to an adjacent harbour of refuge.¹ If, as we are led to suppose, this trifling deviation, which in itself seems hardly worth the pother, had placed him in the power of his murderer, one might have admitted the plea of poetical justification for making so much of so little. But when he reaches the home of Aigisthos only to find his murderer, who is dwelling there at the time, not dwelling there at the time, so that the whole episode ends in a bathos of incompetent uselessness, we can only express our wonder at the "ancient manner."

Out of all this trouble there is of course a way which is certainly as easy as the supposed ellipsis of the word "not"; but Mr. Allen declines to take it. Nitzsch long ago pointed out that all the confusion can be removed by transposing two lines—by placing 517-18 after 520; and he is followed by Bothe, Bekker, Ludwich, Cauer, and van Leeuwen. Mr. Allen mentions the conjecture in his critical edition, only to dismiss it with a "perperam"; and one can understand his reluctance to adopt a resource which, so far as I am aware, is nowhere else needed in Homer. Still, anything is better than that Homer should

¹ "In the event of a southerly or south-westerly gale off Cape Malea, the sea here will be comparatively smooth," *Med. Pilot*, iv. 29.

talk elliptic nonsense in the ancient manner. And if once the transposition is made, the narrative leaves nothing to be desired in vivid clearness.

But we must pause for a moment to ask what is meant by "the steep mountain of Maleiai." The name occurs in Homer in two forms, the singular Maleia and the plural Maleiai. The singular is used on the only occasion where the cape itself is unmistakably referred to—in *Od.* ix. 80 **ἀλλά με κῦμα ῥόος τε περιγνάμπτοντα Μάλειαν . . . ἀπέωσε**, where the mention of the "rounding" leaves no doubt. Wherever else the name occurs, it is in the plural, and refers to the "Maleiai" as the source of storms—*Od.* iii. 287, iv. 514, xix. 187. This is what we might reasonably expect; it is the range of mountains running along the shore which everywhere in the Mediterranean gives rise to the descending squalls which are the terror of the sailor, and equally it is the range of mountains which, as usual, is indicated by the plural number. The "Maleia Mountains" are in fact the whole long range which begins with Parnon, and extends in a practically continuous line down to the dreaded cape.

With this in view, we shall have no difficulty in understanding the story. It runs thus:

Agamemnon, on his return from Troy, has reached the southern extremity of the Argolic peninsula; he is about to round it and run up the gulf to his landing-place at Nauplia. He has in fact "nearly reached the steep mountain of Maleiai," which rises immediately in front of him, and runs, in a long forbidding line, right across his view till it ends in Cape Maleia, just visible on the

southern horizon. From the ill-omened range there leaps down a squall which drives him right out to sea, **πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα**, groaning deeply indeed to be thus baffled when almost in sight of his palace at Mykene. But the storm drops, and the gods turn the wind in his favour; he retraces his course, and this time actually gains his own land, reaching it at the point where Thyestes once had his domain, and where Aigisthos is at the moment dwelling. In other words, Agamemnon makes good his landing at his natural port, Nauplia. Close to Nauplia is the home of Aigisthos, at the southern extremity of the **ἀργός**, the cultivated plain of Argos, which, just at this point, is abruptly bounded by steep and barren hills. Agamemnon himself holds the key to the plain in the north; Thyestes, the nearest kinsman, was naturally given a domain near Nauplia, where he could guard the other main point of vantage in the interest of the Pelopid family. Indeed it is hard to resist the conclusion that the palace of Aigisthos was none other than the fortress of Tiryns, so admirably does this suit the story.

Aigisthos, anxious above all things that Agamemnon should not slip by Tiryns unnoticed, and learn, in the midst of his retainers at Mykene, the parlous state of his connubial affairs, has a man watching constantly at Nauplia to announce the arrival of his foe. The news reaches him from the harbour in less than half an hour by a swift runner; the garrison of Tiryns are set in ambush within the castle, and as soon as Agamemnon appears on the road to Mykene the treacherous paramour issues to meet him, with a mock triumph of chariots and horses, and under the

pretence of a banquet of welcome, lures him to his helpless doom.

Such is the story, told with all the clearness and detail of the Epic manner. It is not, I think, possible to take serious objection to the sense which I have put on the words **Μαλειάων ὄρος αἰπύ**, as including the whole range of steep mountains which ends in the notorious cape. It is the whole range, not the extremity of it, which is the source of storms. This is how it is described in the *Mediterranean Pilot* (iv. 28): "Nothing can be more rugged or inhospitable in its general appearance than the shore of the Morea from Cape Malea northward, and along the west side of the Gulf of Nauplia, which is all high and mountainous. Mounts Saphlaurus, Sevetila, and Zavitsa rise respectively 2458, 3622, and 3190 feet above the sea, immediately over the coast; the former mountain is about half-way between Monemvasia and Nauplia, and the latter 7 miles from the head of the gulf." To the sailor, as to the traveller who passes it by sea, the whole range is a unit of iron-bound coast. When Agamemnon comes in sight of this, Homer might have said "he was nearly home," but he prefers to say "he had nearly reached the mountain of Maleiai" because he is preparing the way for the storm. To any one who knows the district as the Greeks knew it, there could be no mistake in the sense; and no poet, whether he writes in the ancient manner or the modern, can be debarred from using, so long as they are intelligible, the words which carry the colour he needs for his picture.

NOTE I (p. 316)

MESSENE AND THE MESSENIANS

The two names occur only in the history of Odysseus' bow and arrows. These are the lines:

δῶρα τά οἱ ξεῖνος Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε τυχέας
 Ἴφιτος Εὐρυτίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισι.
 τὸ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συμβλήτην ἀλλήλοισιν
 οἴκῳ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο δαίφρονος. ἦ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς
 ἦλεε μετὰ χρεῖος τό ρά οἱ πᾶς δῆμος ὄφελλε·
 μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες ἄειραν
 νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομῆας.
 τῶν ἔνεκ' ἐξεσίην πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἦλεεν Ὀδυσσεὺς
 παιδνὸς ἐών· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε πατὴρ ἄλλοι τε γέροντες.
 Ἴφιτος αὖθ' ἵππους διζήμενος, αἶ οἱ ὄλοντο
 δώδεκα ἐήλεια, ὑπὸ δ' ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοί.

Od. xxi. 13-23.

The narrative, taken by itself, offers no difficulty. The inhabitants of the town of Messene, presumably situated somewhere in the later district of Messenia, which Homer does not name, are a thievish race. Their town is on the sea, and thence they make piratical raids as far as Ithaka. There is no stumbling-block in this. The natural harbour of the Messenian plain is the historic Pharai, the modern Kalamata. They may have started thence, and sailed straight away to Ithaka in a couple of nights and a day, arriving at Ithaka at early morn, and pouncing upon a large flock of sheep on the hillsides. Possibly they may have broken the journey at the historic Pylos on the Bay

of Navarino ; this is only a few hours—about 30 miles—farther from Ithaka than Nestor's Pylos at Kakovatos, whence, as we know, the journey to Ithaka could be made in a night. But in any case Ithaka is within range of a bold raid. Odysseus is sent from Ithaka to Messene to claim reparation. He stays in the house of Ortilochos, and here he meets Iphitos, son of Eurytos, who is on a similar errand. He has lost twelve brood-mares from his stud—he breeds mules, like Noemon of Ithaka, somewhere in the west of the Peloponnese, and it would seem, though the fact is not stated, that he accuses some Messenians of having stolen them ; he, too, has come to seek reparation. Horse-stealing is, of course, the work not of pirates but of villagers ; it is carried on by land, not by sea. Therefore Iphitos is a neighbour of the Messenians.

So far all is clear and natural ; the only question which presents itself is this : Odysseus and Iphitos met at Messene, but the bow was given "in Lakedaimon." This may imply one of two things. Either the two friends both went on from Messene to the town of Lakedaimon—failing of redress in the guilty city, they may have proceeded to cross Taygetos in company, in order to lay their complaint before the king of Lakedaimon himself in Sparta ; or Lakedaimon is the general name for the kingdom of Sparta, and Messene is only a province of it. Either view is tenable, but the second alternative seems to me to suit the general sense of the passage best. In any case the episode implies the immediate dependence of Messene on the king of Sparta.

But as soon as we pass beyond this passage, and take

into account relevant allusions elsewhere, we find ourselves entangled in a maze of puzzles. The worst trouble, as usual, comes from the Catalogue. For there we find Eurytos established in Oichalia near Triikka and Ithome in Thessaly.¹ It is hard to imagine that this Eurytos can be any other than the father of Iphitos, yet it is clear as day that Messenians could never have stolen twelve mares from the heart of inland Thessaly, some 70 miles from the nearest sea, and not less than 250 or 300 miles by land from Messene. Mr. Allen seems prepared to swallow the possibility of this;² he can hardly have tried to imagine the circumstances, and one would like to know at least whether the Messenians went and returned by ship or by road. But as I do not imagine that he will find others to agree with him, we need not dwell on this point. The author of the *Odyssey* certainly considered that Iphitos, son of Eurytos, had his home not far from Messene.

There were in fact no less than five towns in Greece which put in legendary claims to be Oichalia, the home of Eurytos. One was in Thessaly, as we have seen; one in Euboia; one in the territory of Trachis; one in Aetolia; and one in Messenia. Pausanias tells us that he read the *Eoiai* and the *Naupaktia* in order to gain light on the subject. "Most things in Greece are subjects of dispute," he drily concludes. "In the present case the Thessalians on the one side affirm that Eurytion, which is now deserted, was of yore a city and called Oechalia; but the Euboeans on the other side have a different story with which Creophylus in his poem *Heraclea* agrees. Hecataeus the

¹ *Il.* ii. 730.

² *J.H.S.* xxx.

Milesian says that Oechalia is in Scius, which forms part of the district of Eretria. But the Messenian story seems to me the more probable, especially on account of the bones of Eurytus, which I shall speak of in the sequel."¹

It is clear then that the *Odyssey* and the Catalogue follow different traditions; the *Odyssey* places the city of Eurytos in Messenia and not in Thessaly, just as Sophokles² and others place it in Euboea. Curiously enough there is a trace of the Odyssean tradition in the Catalogue too; for I imagine that no one but Mr. Allen reading the famous episode of Thamyris³ will doubt that the Oichalia whence the minstrel was going when the Muses met him in Dorion, somewhere in Triphylia, was the town in the immediate neighbourhood, not the Thessalian, nearly 300 miles away, and entirely irrelevant to the context. That, however, is not an important point. We will be content to say that according to the *Odyssey* the home of Eurytos, Oichalia, was near Messene. Andania, at or quite near which Strabo and Pausanias⁴ locate it, will do as well as any other. Pausanias records the ruins of a city called Dorion close at hand.⁵

But Eurytos is not the only name which causes trouble; and of the next difficulty the Catalogue is innocent. Odysseus and Iphitos met "in the house of Ortilochos" (or Orsilochos). Now we hear in the *Iliad*⁶ of a family descended from the River Alpheios, "which flows broad through the Pylians' land." The son of the River is

¹ Paus. iv. 2. 2 (Frazer's trans.).

² *Trach.* 74.

³ *Il.* ii. 594 ff.

⁴ Strabo viii. 3. 25, etc.; Paus. iv. 33. 4.

⁵ iv. 33. 7.

⁶ v. 541 ff.

called Ortilochos;¹ Ortilochos has a son Diokles, who in turn is the father of twins, one of whom is named Orsilochos. And the family home is at Phere.

In *Il.* ix. there is a Messenian town called Pherai² which we are told is on the sea. This suits our purpose perfectly; for we have already concluded that Messene was on the sea, and at its chief port Odysseus would naturally land on the occasion when he met Iphitos. The port in question is of course the historic Pharai, now Kalamata.

But a fresh difficulty arises. When Telemachos is driven from Pylos to Sparta by Peisistratos, they halt for the night at Pherai, at the house of Diokles, son of Ortilochos, and thence drive next day to the valley of Lakedaimon.³

Now it is commonly agreed that no chariots can ever have been driven over the main chain of Taygetos from Kalamata to Sparta. The road can be ridden in a day; but it is a steep mountain-pass—the well-known Langada—and it is not to be believed that even the engineering skill of the best Mycenaean age could have made it passable for wheels. It is one of the arguments in favour of Kakovatos as the site of Nestor's Pylos that it makes it possible to suppose a carriage road leading thence into the upper valley of the Alpheios, by which the mountain-chain could be outflanked. According to this view Pherai lay on the upper waters of the Alpheios; and with this

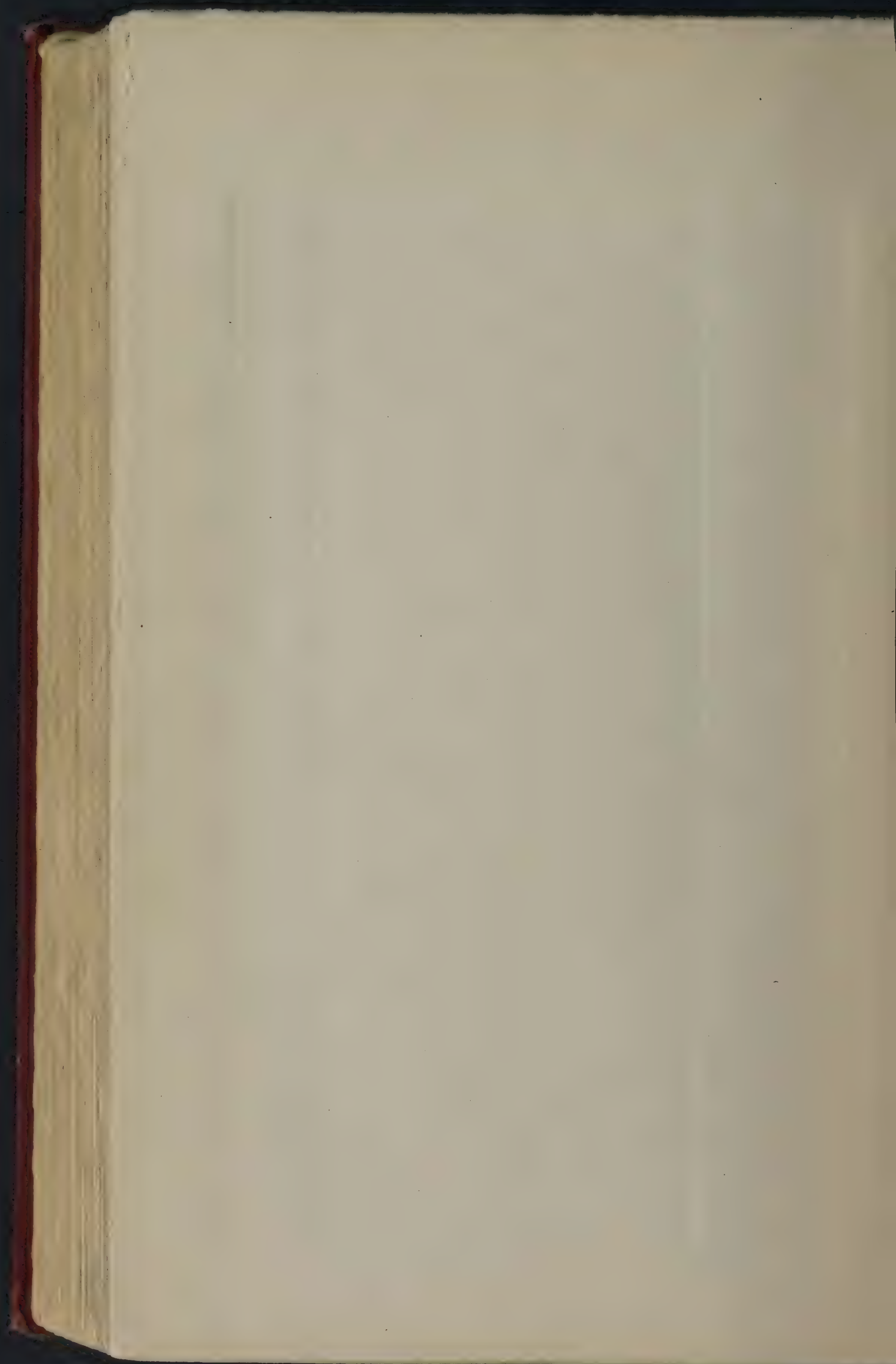
¹ Ortilochos is the reading of Zenodotos, Pausanias, and most MSS. of the *Odyssey* (xxi. 16); the MSS. of the *Iliad* read Orsilochos in both cases.

² Φηράς τε Ζαεΐας . . . πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἄλός, 151-3.

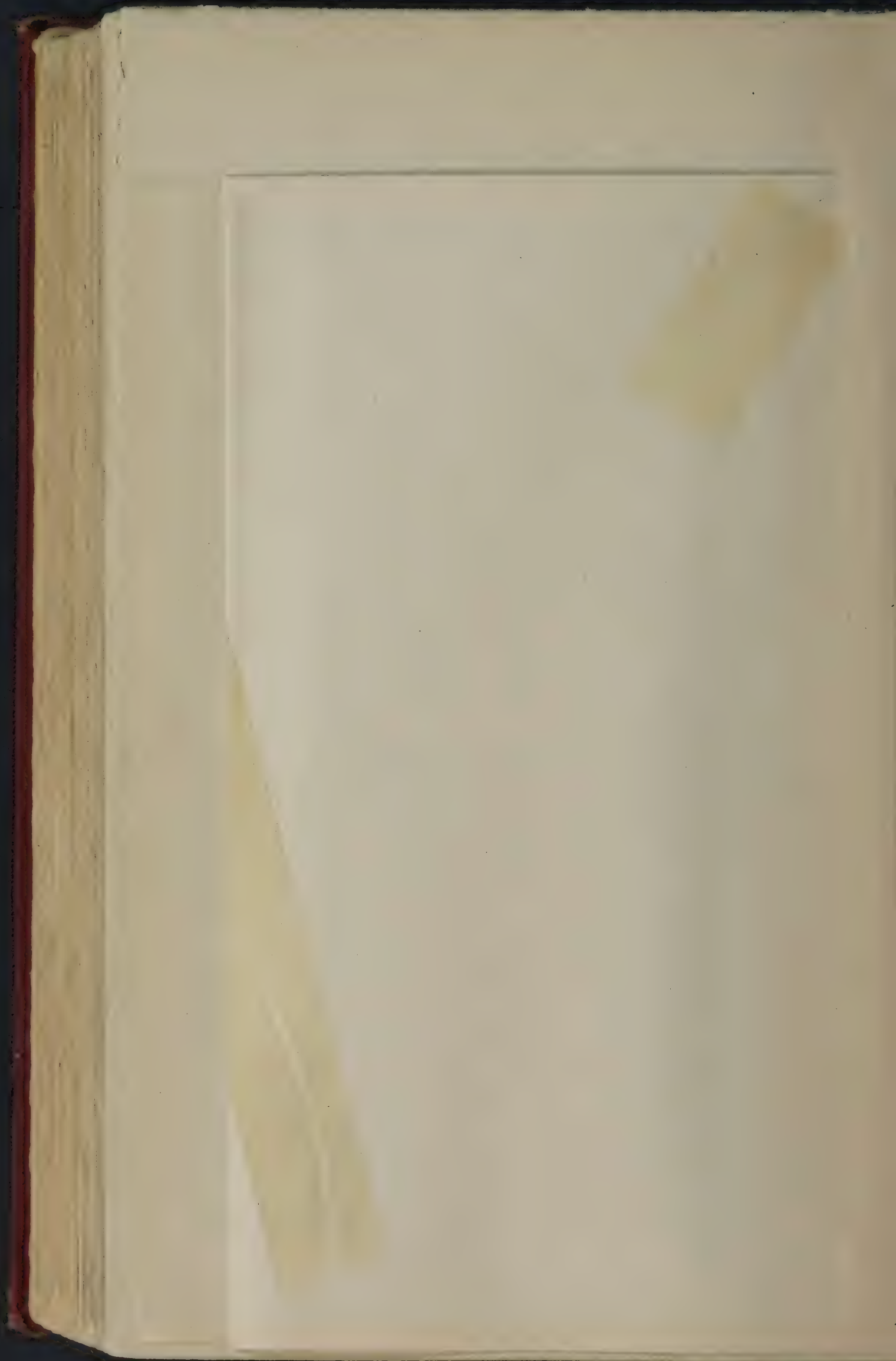
³ *Od.* iii. 488 ff.

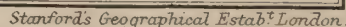
the descent of Ortilochos from the river god agrees. If this is the case, then there must have been two places named Pherai, one inland, and one on the sea; and both are described as the home of Ortilochos or his son Diokles.

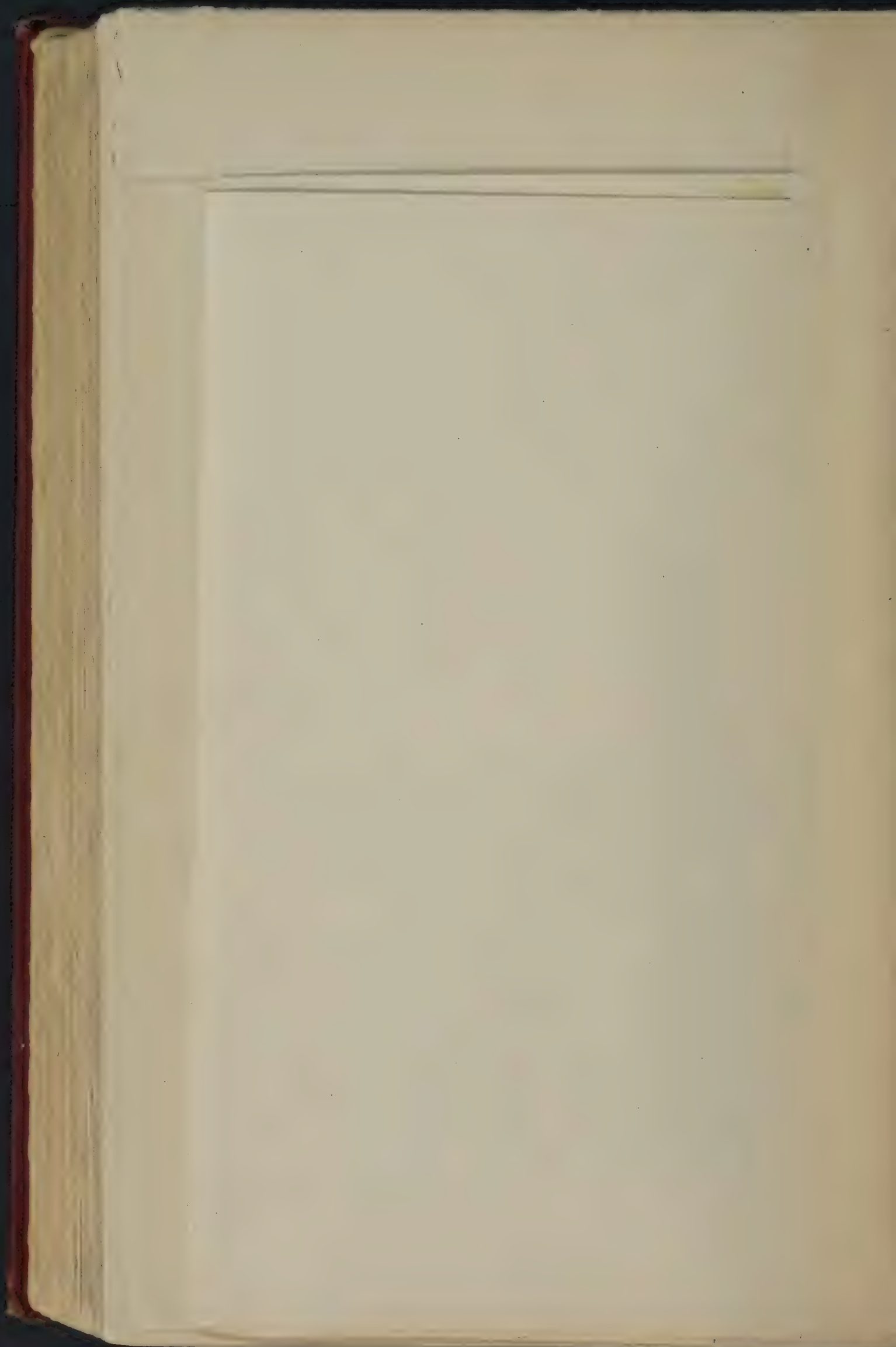
We appear therefore to have another instance of the migration of names exactly parallel to that of Pylos in the immediate neighbourhood. The name of Pherai moved southward and carried with it the family legend of Ortilochos-Diokles-Orsilochos exactly as Pylos moved southward from Kakovatos to the Bay of Navarino, carrying with it the legend of Nestor. The difference between the two cases is that both stages are recorded by the Epos in the case of Pherai, while in the case of Pylos only the earlier stage is recognized. The less important tradition naturally showed less tenacity, and the incidental manner in which it is introduced conceals the contradictions which are only discoverable by comparison of distant and unrelated passages.











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